Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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18B: CITIZEN AND EXECUTIVE

Our contemporary, *The Patriot*, was founded in 1922, as a journal of Anti-Socialism, by the 8th Duke of Northumberland. We never expected to quote from its columns with approval. From its issue for November 6 last, we reproduce the following comment on *"The Liberty of the Subject."* Except that we prefer and insist on the term of "citizen" as opposed to "subject," we quote the passage with complete endorsemnt :

Judgment was given by the House of Lords on 3rd November in two cases involving the liberty of the subject. The appeal of Mr. Benjamin Greene, which was an application for a writ of 'habeas corpus,' was dismissed unanimously. The case of Mr. Robert William Liversidge likewise failed, on a majority decision of four Lords to one, the dissenting opinion being that of Lord Atkin. It is now made clear that in this matter of operating the Defence Regulations the decision of the Home Secretary is not subject to judicial review, and until Parliament, which, in the opinion of many, very unwisely granted these powers to the Executive, decrees otherwise, the British people will have to submit to the present limitation of their liberties. By the amendment by Order in Council dated 23rd November, 1939, whereby the wording that the Secretary of State can act "if satisfied that it is necessary so to do" was altered to "has reasonable cause to believe," Parliament thought that it had introduced a safeguard, but it is difficult to see that this is now so. It is interesting to note that, in disagreeing with the other four Lords in the one case, Lord Atkin was very emphatic on the point that words were being given a wrong meaning, a very common failing in these days, and, quoting from "The Times" of 4th November:—

"He protested, even if he did it alone, against a strained construction put on words with the effect of giving an uncontrolled power of imprisonment to the Minister. The words had only one meaning: they were used with that meaning in statements of the common law and in statutes. They had never been used in the sense now imputed to them; they were used in the Defence Regulations in the natural meaning."

Whether, in view of these remarks, the House of Commons will be content to leave things as they are remains to be seen, but that there is a growing belief in the country that these Defence Regulations, rushed through in an emergency, were approved without a full understanding of their implications, is not in doubt.

In *The Freethinker*, for November 16, Chapman Cohen commented vigorously on the judgment, as follows :—

Lord Atkin said he viewed "with apprehension" the present attitude of the Executive towards such cases. Generally speaking, 40 years ago, a British subject had the unquestionable right of appeal to the Courts against the rulings of any executive person or body. To-day that is very nearly non-existent. The subject is the legal slave of the Executive. It he is treated favourably, so much the better for him. If he is treated harshly or contemptuously, so much the worse. But it is the Minister of this or of that who decides, and against his ruling there appears to be no greater opposition than an Italian to a decree of the Fascist Council.

The following from Lord Atkin's protest should be studied by all who are not to be satisfied with mere talk about British liberties:—

"It has always been one of the pillars of freedom, one of the principles of liberty, for which on recent authority we are now fighting, that Judges are no respecters of persons, and stand between the subject and any attempted encroachment on his liberty by the Executive.

"In this case I have listened to arguments which might have been addressed acceptably to the Court of King's Bench in the time of Charles I. I protest, even if I do it alone, against a strained construction put upon words with the effect of giving an uncontrolled power of imprisonment to the Minister.

"I know of only one authority which might easily justify the suggested method of construction. 'When I use a word,' Humpty-Dumpty said in a rather

Duke forbidden travel to Eire

Duke Will Not Be Allowed to Go to Dublin

By the Parliamentary Correspondent

The Duke of Bedford, who was interested earlier in the

not go to Ireland without per ..., and continued:—
whom I have not detained. I ... him except that I am inter... long as I am Home Secretary ... and so long as his opinion and activities are what they are, he will not go to Dublin. That is the Duke of Bed ford."

If there was to be no restric... on it would mean that the ...uke of Bedford or any mem... er of the House of Commons, ...hatever his opinion about the ...ar effort might be, would ...utomatically have the right to ... to Ireland, and that would ...e dangerous.

remier Protests

Mr. McGovern said that when ...e Duke of Bedford went to ...ublin he went for the express ...urpose of meeting the German ...mbassador. Lord Halifax gave ...im permission.

"I did not want to meet and ...iscuss anything with the Ger...an Ambassador because I ...ave nothing in common with ...ese people.

"I made two perfectly ...traight applications, both were ...efused, and I think both could ...e justified from the point of ...iew of national interest.

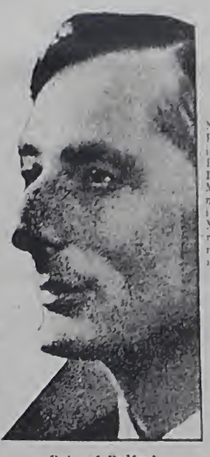
Earlier in the debate, Mr. ...laxton (I.L.P., Bridgeton) said ...he Minister regarded the re...ention of his position as the ...ast word in national interest. ...nd Sir Archibald Southby (C., ...psom) declared that he was ...rrogating to himself the right ...o say what was in the national

'Peace' Duke Warned by Morrison

In Danger of Detention

By PERCY CATER, Daily Mail Parliamentary Correspondent

SENSATIONAL mention of the Duke of Bedford as a person in whose activities he was "interested" was made by Mr. Herbert Morrison, Home Secretary, last night.



Duke of Bedford.

PEACE DUKE WARNED

Morrison: I am watching him.

Express Staff Reporter

MR HERBERT MORRISON, Home Secretary, told the House of Commons last night that he is "interested in the activities" of the 52-year-old Duke of Bedford, who has

DUKE'S DUBLIN VISIT NORTHERN LABOUR CONCERNED

At yesterday's meeting of the Northern Labour Party Conference in Belfast, a resolution was passed viewing with concern the statement in the British House of Commons that the Duke of Bedford met the German Minister at Dublin, through arrange-

DUBLIN VISIT BY DUKE IS BANNED

(From Our Parliamentary Representative)

WESTMINSTER, Tuesday.

THE Duke of Bedford, better known as the Marquess of Tavistock, was publicly

Yellow Paint On Statue Of Duke

THE statue of Francis, Duke of Bedford, in Russell-square, London, W.C., was splashed on the face and breast with yellow paint during the night.

"V" signs in paint and chalk had been printed all over it.

"TRAITOR" ON DUKE'S STATUE

THE statue of Francis, Duke of Bedford, ancestor of the

DUKE OF BEDFORD AGAIN BANNED FROM EIRE

The Duke of Bedford, the pacifist, has been banned by the Home Secretary from visiting Eire. A few months ago the Duke refused to continue to support the Church of England in general and specific parishes under his patronage in particular, because of the support given by the Church to the war.

DUKE OF BEDFORD GETS WARNING

DUKE ASKED TO END LEASE

THE Duke of Bedford has been asked to terminate his tenancy

By H. R. S. PHILLPOTT

"THERE is one noble lord in whom I am interested, and as long as his opinions and activities are what they

MORRISON REVEALS BAN ON DUKE

THE Duke of Bedford was named in the House of Commons on Tuesday by Mr. Herbert

'I AM WATCHING DUKE OF BEDFORD'

Morrison bans him from Dublin

Express Staff Reporter

MR. HERBERT MORRISON, Home Secretary, told the House of Commons last night that he is "interested in the activities" of the 52-year-old Duke of Bedford, who has just issued a 7,000-word peace-plan pamphlet called "What a Game!"

Mr. Morrison is watching me'

SAYS DUKE OF BEDFORD

Express Staff Reporter

"MR. HERBERT MORRISON may shut me up, but it's one of the risks I have to take," said the Duke of Bedford to me at his Scottish mansion at Cairnsmore yesterday.

THE PURSUIT OF PACIFISM

Even in the days of Castlereagh and Sidmouth the press did not dare to carry headlines like those included in the above composite picture. We have another picture ready to publish next month. Fellow-countrymen of Thomas Paine and Richard Carlile cannot afford to tolerate such continued invasion of the rights of citizens. This journal supports Lord Atkin in his considered judgment and the sixty odd M.P.'s who have revolted against 18B Regulations. The powers of the Home Secretary are absolute and he has rejected the findings of his own Advisory Committee in 128 cases. Dukes should be prosecuted like dustmen, if necessary; but neither duke nor dustman ought to be denounced in irresponsible headlines like those previously above from the millionaire press.

sceptful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean." The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean different things." The question is, which is to be master—that's all."

That is all. It was the question that Hitler put to the Germans, and which he decided by appointing his own judges and deciding the question beforehand. The late Lord Chief Justice published a book denouncing the destruction here, step by step, of the freedom about which we boast so much. The right of the subject to appeal to the Courts against even the most powerful Minister of State was never questioned until recent years. To-day it is being openly spurned. We are pleased to find one of our Law Lords reminding the world of what liberty means—or did mean.

Very many times in recent years we have called attention to the way in which the constitutional rights of the English people were being frittered away by successive governments. We now, not for the first time, mention but one phase of this destruction of individual freedom. For years Parliament, with the general public showing its customary sheep-like docility, has been frittering away civil liberty from the subject by a transference of almost despotic power to the Minister of this and that Department. We need not be conquered by Hitler to become a nation of robots—Parliament, unless watched, will see to that by its development of Ministerial autocracy before the war, its elaboration during the war, and—unless the English people act in an un-English manner — its continuation and establishment afterwards.

Lord Atkin is one of the most distinguished jurists of our time. He has been Lord of Appeal in Ordinary since 1928. Born in 1867, and educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, Lord Atkin became a Barrister in 1891, a Bencher and a K.C. in 1906. He was a Judge of the High Court, 1916-1919, and Lord Justice of Appeal, 1919-28. During the conclusion of the last war he was Judge of the Munitions Tribunals Appeals Court, 1918-19. Since the close of the last war Lord Atkin has occupied the following positions: President of Naturalisation of Aliens (Revocation) Committee, 1918-19; Chairman of War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry, 1918-19; Chairman of Termination of the War Committee, 1918; Member of Committee on British and Foreign Legal Procedure, 1918-1919; Lord Justice of Appeal, 1919-28; Chairman of Irish Deportees Compensation Tribunal, 1924; Chairman of Committee on Crime and Insanity, 1924; President of Medico-Legal Society, 1923-27; Chairman of Council of Legal Education, 1919-34, etc.

We do not think that the citizens of Britain ought to set aside lightly the reasoned judgment of this jurist. Nor should the democracy put the aggressive utterances of the Prime Minister or the Home Secretary above the argued legal statement enunciated by Lord Atkin. In *The Word* for June, 1940, we reproduced the House of Commons discussion and Government's undertakings as to the nature and extent of its war defences. To every intelligent and reflective reader it must be clear that the present attitude of the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary violates the pledges then given and constitutes an *unpardonable* breach of faith.

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MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT VISITS TO IRELAND

HERBERT MORRISON ATTACKS THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

[. . . In the House of Commons on Tuesday, October 21, 1921, Sir Irving Albery raised the question of M.P.'s visits to Ireland. We have the OFFICIAL PARLIAMENTARY REPORT (Vol. 374, No. 110. Tuesday, October 21, 1941, vols. 1703-1754) before us. We regret that space does not permit the publication of full report and we ask our readers to obtain the full report from H.M. Stationery Office, post-free, for 7d. Meantime readers are asked to content themselves with this summary, which omits the trimmings. Unfortunately some of the trimmings are as tell-tale as the essence of the speeches, and make more delightful reading.

John McGovern's speech should be read in full. Summary does not do it justice and the more curious and entertaining passages are omitted from this record as being irrelevant. McGovern said that, at no time had he done anything to sabotage the efforts of the country or aid the enemy in any way. Some people think that the very fact of being an anti-militarist in war-time is sabotage. If McGovern meant to say that he had no sympathy with Nazism, the point could have been made better. Socialism has nothing in common with Fascism. It has nothing in common with Imperialism either. Eugene Debs on his famous trial in Cleveland, Ohio, in September, 1918, defined the Socialist attitude towards war in war-time in one of the most wonderful orations delivered from the dock. The function of the Socialist is to be opposed to ALL Imperialism and ALL Imperialisms equally.

McGovern reminded Morrison of the violence of his (Morrison's) Anti-Militarist declarations during the Great War. This point was sound. But when he related his conversation with Healy and proceeded to describe the Duke of Bedford's visit to Dublin in 1940, he was pitifully weak. McGovern said: "I DID NOT MEET THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR BECAUSE I HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON WITH SUCH PEOPLE." This is pandering to reaction, stupidity, and fear. Of course, McGovern ought not to have anything in common "with such people." BUT HE DID VISIT BOTH GERMANY AND ITALY. George Lansbury met both Mussolini and Hitler. Did Lansbury have anything in common with these people? And Labour Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald was photographed shaking hands with Mussolini.

The great facts overlooked in this discussion are: (1) A member of the House of Lords does not enjoy the same alleged representative position as a M.P.; (2) The Duke of Bedford has not asked to go to Ireland and his no wish to go there. The whole business is a question of an analogy, quite interesting and even sound up to a point, being pursued to an absurdity, to justify irresponsible powers being enjoyed by a single Minister of State.—Ed.]

Sir Irving Albery (C.—Gravesend), raising the question of the refusal of the Home Office to allow Mr. McGovern (I.L.P.—Shettleston) to visit Northern Ireland on what he considered to be one of his Parliamentary duties, said that it raised two issues. One was the right of the Home Office to prevent members going anywhere they wished in the United Kingdom, and the other was the refusal to allow a member to inquire into a detention under Regulation 18B.

The issues were raised by the stand taken by Mr. Peake, the Under Secretary for Home Affairs, on Tuesday, October 14. Sir Irving disputed the right of the Home Secretary to apply either veto. He also could not bring himself to believe that the Under Secretary in taking this position was accurately interpreting Mr. Morrison's mind.

Sir Hugh O'Neill (C.—Antrim) pointed out that the regulations governing the issue of exit permits to Ireland provided that a permit could always be granted in the case of a journey being undertaken on any point of national importance. He would have thought it was a question of national importance for an M.P. to exercise his rights and privileges by travelling to Northern Ireland to investigate the case of a person detained under Regulation 18B.

The only consideration which ought to weigh with the Home Secretary would be if he thought that the M.P. concerned was himself likely to do something prejudicial to the national security. If it were so probably the M.P. should be arrested. At any rate the permit could then be properly refused.

Mr. Maunder (L.—Wolverhampton, E.) maintained that unless there were overwhelming grounds of national security involved a member of Parliament should be allowed to travel to any part of the United Kingdom and to any British Dominion.

Squadron-Leader P. W. Donner (C.—Basingstoke) said that the principle at issue affected every member of both Houses of Parliament. He believed that one had to draw a distinction between M.P.'s and the general public, because M.P.'s had certain constitutional functions to fulfil, whereas the ordinary citizen has no such similar function. There were two schools of thought. One said that, in order to win the war, we must surrender a great number of liberties and much of our freedom. The other believed in making as few infringements on liberty as possible. He sympathised with the second view. "Dora" remained for 20 years after the last war and never disappeared.

Mr. J. J. Davidson (Lab.—Maryhill) asked why Squadron-Leader Donner had supported Franco, who suppressed Parliamentary representation.

Donner said he believed in parliamentary democracy in Britain, but held that it was corrupt and incompetent in a Latin country. He asked the Home Secretary to rescind his decision.

Mr. Herbert Morrison (Home Secretary, S. Hackney, Lab.) said that he had administered the 18B regulations fairly. He had released well over half the members of the British Union who had been interned.

It was a far more serious thing in one way to allow a man to go to Dublin than it was to allow him to go to Australia or Canada or even America. It must be remembered that in Southern Ireland there were friends of ours, but let us not hedge the fact there were enemies of this country as well, and moreover in Dublin, unlike the capital of Australia, of Canada, or of South Africa, there was a German Legation, and the fact of that German Legation being in Dublin was a material consideration which the House really must take into account.

Mr. McGovern's applications, one of which was written and one made by telephone, requested permission for a visit to Ireland generally, both Northern Ireland and Eire.

If the Home Office received an application from an M.P. it was always given careful and special consideration, and if there was any reasonable ground of public interest it would be their wish to say "Yes." They would much sooner say "Yes" than "No." That was the spirit in which they had sought to administer the regulations.

He was only asking that a member in making application should give reasonable grounds as to why, in the pursuance of his Parliamentary duties, it was to the national interests that he should go.

Mr. Morrison continued that the House of Lords had as much right to their privileges and liberties as the House of Commons.

Mr. Morrison added:—

"There is one noble lord whom I have not detained. I am not saying anything about him except that I am interested in his activities, and so long as I am Home Secretary and so long as his opinion and activities are what they are he will not go to Dublin. That is the Duke of Bedford."

If there was to be no restriction it would mean that the Duke of Bedford or any member of the House of Commons, whatever his opinion about the war effort might be, would automatically have the right to go to Ireland, and that would be dangerous. As Home Secretary he could not be party to giving the automatic right to any member of the Legislature to go to any part of Ireland.

Mr. Stokes (Lab.—Ipswich) asked whether it was in order for a Minister to impute wrongdoing to a member of the House of Lords when no charge of any kind had been preferred against him.

The Speaker: It would be better not to refer to a member of the House of Lords.

Mr. Morrison said he was obliged to Mr. Stokes for warning him off ground which it was better for him not to tread.

Continuing, Mr. Morrison said Mr. McGovern's first application was to go to Ireland as chairman of the I.L.P. for special observation and survey and in order to ascertain from various people in Ireland what they thought was the best means of defeating Nazism and Fascism.

Having regard to the nature and the policy of the I.L.P. he was not at all sure that it would be right for him as Home Secretary to give Mr. McGovern specific permission because it would mean that he was, so to speak, giving him some kind of recognition.

Within a few days Mr. McGovern went to him and raised a different reason for going—a reason unrelated to his first. He said he had seen Mr. Cahir Healy in Brixton Prison and that he wanted to go to Ireland to investigate Mr. Healy's case and to get further information so that Mr. Healy could lay it before the Home Secretary. He could not convince himself that a visit to Ireland by Mr. McGovern would affect one way or another Mr. Healy's case.

Mr. McGovern (I.L.P.—Shettleston) said he did not agree with Mr. Morrison's interpretation of the rights of members. He said he received a letter from Mr. Healy and saw him at Brixton Prison. There was no difficulty in seeing him and the officials were very courteous. Regarding his arrest, Mr. Healy told him that an interpretation put by the Home Office on one of his letters differed from that which he himself held.

Mr. McGovern said he told Mr. Healy that he might be able to assist if a wrong interpretation was being put upon his proposed acts. Mr. Healy expressed willingness that he should go and see the people in Ireland, find out from them what they were prepared to say on their honour, and place the information before the Home Office.

He told Mr. Healy that if he found out that he (Mr. Healy) or any of his associates proposed to do anything that was detrimental to the State he would wash his hands entirely of it, because he was opposed to war.

Earl Winterton (Horsham and Worthing, U.) said that he supported the Home Secretary in his contention that the restrictions must apply in some cases to members of Parliament. But he felt strongly that this case smelt of political discrimination. Other members had been allowed to go to Ireland. Why then drag in now the question of the neutrality of Southern Ireland?

Mr. Morrison said that he hoped he was not guilty of political discrimination. He was certainly not conscious of it.

Earl Winterton said that if the Home Secretary was going to say that Mr. McGovern should not be allowed to go to Ireland because he was a dangerous person, they were getting near to political discrimination. There might be a general rule that no member should go to Ireland, but the Home Secretary had propounded a new doctrine.

Mr. Churchill, Prime Minister (Epping, U.), said that a statutory duty was imposed on Mr. Morrison personally as Secretary of State, and he could not avoid it. It was a little unjust to put him in the dock for carrying out a duty which Parliament had imposed upon him.

Earl Winterton said that if it was argued that the regulations placed on the Home Secretary a duty to decide whether or not it was in the national interest that a particular member should go to a particular part of the country, the sooner the regulations were altered the better.

Sir A. Southby (Epsom, U.) said that any member could be locked up under 18B without the House being told why. The Home Secretary arrogated to himself the right to decide whether or not Mr. McGovern should go to Ireland.

Mr. Churchill.—The Home Secretary does not arrogate that right to himself. This duty has been placed upon him by the House. That may be right or wrong. If wrong, the House can change it. The House is all-powerful. But to say that the Home Secretary arrogates this right to himself is most unfair.

Sir A. Southay said that in the House and the country there was a feeling that Regulation 18B was passed in haste and should be, to some extent, amended.

Mr. J. Griffiths said that on the whole the Home Secretary had operated 18B to general satisfaction.

Mr. Maxton (Glasgow, Bridgeton, I.L.P.) said that the Home Secretary's statement was not satisfactory. He hoped the right hon. gentleman would get into contact with representative members of the House and put the matter on a basis satisfactory from the point of view of the national welfare and in keeping with the democratic right of members.

Mr. Churchill said that there was no part of the powers conferred on the Government in this time of trial that he viewed with greater repugnance than those of exceptional process against the liberty of the subject without the ordinary safeguards which were inherent in British life. Habeas Corpus, the Petition of Rights and trial by jury, were part of what we were fighting to preserve. They were determined that they should not be inroaded upon by anything except the need of self-preservation which arose in time of war.

He recognised that this legislation and the regulations were passed at a moment of great danger. It was possible that if in this lull—it was only a lull—the matter were considered the House would be in a different temper. He would feel very proud, very happy, if he could come to the House even while the war was going on and say that our position was so good and solid, the path before us so firm and clear, that the Government could, even in time of war, of their own free will give back to Parliament those special powers they had entrusted to them. Unhappily that was not the case at present.

In the meanwhile he could not conceive how Parliament could better get control of the exercise of those abnormal powers than by insisting upon their being exercised on the discretion of a Minister present in the House and accountable to them. The Minister had been made accountable to the House. He had explained in the greatest detail his use of the powers in a particular case. It must be a discretionary power. The manner in which his right hon. friend had explained the position had given the House a feeling, first of all, of the submissiveness of the executives to the Parliamentary institution, and, secondly, of the case with which those powers were exercised.

He particularly resented the suggestion that they were adopting the methods of Fascist States. They were not. They were the servants of the House.

Mr. Bevan (Lab.—Ebbw Vale) said the whole issue was, did the Home Secretary exercise his powers in a judicial and reasonable manner? "I am not satisfied that the administration of the Home Secretary is impartial," he said.

Mr. Logan (Lab.—Scotland, Liverpool) suggested that the Home Secretary and Mr. McGovern might have a chat together over the situation.

The House rose.

BRITAIN'S CONCHIES

Many citizens will be shocked to learn that in spite of all assurances and protestations against the penalisation of conscientious objectors, there is now over 500 young men in prison for war resistance. Of these over one hundred are serving one year, the maximum penalty that can be imposed by Police Courts in England and Sheriff Courts, by summary conviction, in Scotland. Most of them, when released, will be liable to be prosecuted and imprisoned again and again.

Section 13 of the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939, provides an opportunity for conscientious objectors who have been unsuccessful before the tribunals and have consequently been drafted into the Army to present their cases again to the Appellate Tribunal if they have been sentenced by court-martial to imprisonment for three months or more.

If the Appellate Tribunal considers that the offence which led to the court-martial was committed on grounds of conscience it may recommend that the man be transferred to non-combatant duties *or* that he be registered as a C.O. conditionally on performing civilian work *or* that he be so registered without condition. These recommendations are binding.

A concession allows a similar right to soldiers who did not register as C.O.'s before going into the Army.

Conscientious objectors who resist service in the Army are, therefore, entitled to have their cases reviewed after they have been imprisoned for their beliefs. This right forms a valuable safeguard against "cat-and-mouse" treatment.

Most of the C.O.'s now in prison are there because they refuse on conscientious grounds to be medically examined for the Army. They believe medical examination to be solely for military service and the first step towards that service which their consciences forbid them to perform. Upon that they have made their stand.

In no circumstances are C.O.'s who resist medical examination entitled to have their consciences re-examined at any time.

It ought to be the business of the Government to devise means whereby these may be accorded similar rights to those serving in the Army.

"Odious to the British people." That is how Winston Churchill, speaking in the House of Commons on March 20, 1941, described anything in the nature of persecution, victimisation, or man-hunting of conscientious objectors. In spite of this declaration, the imprisonment of upright citizens continues, because they have more conscience than the Tribunals supposed.

Some of the Court cases are a disgrace to democracy.

R. Elcock, 34 Goldsmith Road, Acton, W.3, came before the Middlesex Recorder, Mr. St. John G. Micklethwait, K.C., at the Quarter Sessions, Westminster, on September 25. He had been remanded for trial from Acton Petty Sessions on a charge of failing to obey a Court Order that he should submit to medical examination.

Prosecuting Counsel opened the case by saying *that this was the first case to be brought on indictment.* He briefly reviewed the legal position before the passing of the 1941 Act.

The Recorder: Can't they examine him if he refuses to agree?

Prosecuting Counsel: No, there is no power to examine if he refuses. Counsel then summarised the facts of the case. Defendant had been sent two Medical Notices and had failed to attend in response to either.

Counsel said that defendant refused to be examined unless he was guaranteed entry into the Medical Corps. He had been told that since he had been given non-combatant duties he would be put into a corps which fed the Pioneer Corps and the R.A.M.C.

Defendant, when asked whether he wanted to say anything, said that as a Christian he thought

it wrong to destroy life. He had no objection to service in the Medical Corps in order to save life.

The Recorder: But the Non-combatant Corps does not destroy life.

Defendant: It is allied to those who kill.

The Recorder: Is it—felling trees, and so on?

Prosecuting Counsel, in reply to a question from the Recorder, said that at the end of his sentence defendant would still be liable to be served with another Medical Natice and the procedure repeated, though he (Counsel) had not yet heard of any such case.

The Recorder then addressed the defendant and informed him that he had defied the Order of the Court. He had refused to do his duty; no decent Englishman would refuse. He (the Recorder) was glad to hear that defendant would still be liable to be proceeded against at the end of his sentence. Defendant would go to prison for one month.

William V. Sedgwick of Guiseley, and Frank Kershaw of Bradford, appeared before the Bench on the charge of failing to comply with an order of the Court requiring them to be medically examined.

Sedgwick was sentenced to *ten months,* and Kersham to *six months,* both in the second division.

The Bench was told that Sedgwick and Kershaw had been taken before the medical board at the same time.

Stipendiary Magistrate: "It was a psychological mistake to take them there together. They back each other up."

The prosecuting solicitor said he would draw attention to the suggestion.

On September 30, sentencing Joseph C. Slater, the Chairman of the Crewe Bench, said that the magistrates had no alternative but to send him to prison for 12 months. On October 9, the Tottenham Police Court, which had given many sentences of 6 months, sentenced Norman Blunsdon to 12 months' imprisonment. Their patience was exhausted.

Lambeth Police Court reversed its attitude. Previously it had sentenced "conchies" to 2 or 3 months. On September 12th it sentenced Jack Monk of Leeds, who was doing I.V.S.P. demolition work, to one day's imprisonment.

At Norwich, Herbert Storey, a schoolmaster, registered by the Tribunal for non-combatant duties, was prosecuted for refusing to attend his medical. First hearing was adjourned for five weeks; second hearing was also adjourned. At the third hearing, on October 4, Storey's solicitor pleaded the Probation of Offenders' Act. *By a majority, the Magistrates placed Storey on* 12 *months' probation (own recognizance of £5) on condition he took up ambulance work or similar work under the Society of Friends or P.P.U. or agriculture. This is the first type of decision in this war.*

By The DUKE OF BEDFORD.

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APATHY OR AWARENESS

By EVELYN DAWSON

Throughout the ages mankind has often been stricken down remorsely by the inexorable hand of nature in her various forms, and also by accidents caused by human negligence, but never until now has humanity been such a victim of sudden death and terrible suffering, nor been forced to face desolation and destruction through the wilful instigation of man. This has not descended on us as an unexpected catastrophe. For twenty years the Pacifists have predicted the inevitableness of the horrors of the present grim tragedy unless a complete change of international policy was effected, but the controllers would not hearken to our words, and the masses were influenced by them, or else were apathetic. The majority failed even to read the writing on the wall during those months of unprecedented frightfulness in Abyssinia, in Spain and in China, else surely the leaders would never have allowed the approaching avalanche to gain such momentum as to make it well night impossible to stop. If there had been any general proper awareness of the realities of modern warfare, and its after effects, it would have aroused a determination to remove the causes of the threatening calamity. Then, late as it was, there would have followed some constructive policies instead of that concentration upon destruction which was so predominant in those years of armed peace which preceded this war.

Undoubtedly, it is to the amazing lack of real active imagination, particularly during the last two decades, that must be attributed most of the responsibility for the precipitous descent towards our present state of existence, which is worse than barbarism. And it would seem that this same noticeable failure to understand with sympathetic awareness what is really happening, or to perceive the appalling possibilities of this hellish form of warfare, is preventing any widespread desire to stop the war.

The majority of people never even contemplate any alternative policy to the continuation of aerial reprisals attacks, which will by the very nature of war increase in intensity and diabolical inventiveness. Through the propaganda of the press and the B.B.C., which not only gives primary importance to the lack of military damage here, and the reverse with our exploits over Germany, but gives no proper idea of the casualties at the time, the full effect, significance and horror of the raids has not been realised by the nation as a whole. Personal sufferers have been tragically aware of their own loss and experience. The people of each town see the devastation, and some will know what has been involved in such havoc, but the realisation appears to be largely confined to this, except when the public imagination is stirred, for a short period, by a Coventry or a Fire of London. War always destroys the value and sacredness of human life, and this is particularly evident now, even when the casualties reach into the thousands for a month. Far fewer victims in peace time would have aroused active sympathy throughout the world, and called for inquiries and for drastic steps to be taken for the avoidance of the possible recurrence. One recalls the great world-wide reaction to the Titanic disaster, the Gresford Colliery catastrophe, the R.101, or "The Thetis." To-day far greater tragedies than these are regarded almost as something inevitable that we must endure, or "take it" for the sake of that "new world" ahead, which will be new, but not in the way that the masses are thinking—if they think at all. The outcome of this war is certainly not going to be the assured decisive victory that so many imagined in 1939, but whatever happens, all the countries concerned are going to be bereft of valuable lives, and filled either with physical wrecks, nerve-shaken and maimed, or with people dulled and lifeless through personal loss of friends, or of everything that makes a home. The prevailing attitude towards the tragedy that has befallen us is being proclaimed as real courage, and rightly so in the cases of hundreds of individuals, but there is a grave danger of the general calmness leading to complacency. That is why the adaptability to shelter life—a sad existence for twentieth century civilisation, whatever steps are taken to ameliorate the conditions— is alarming because of its conscious and psychological effect upon the people. It is all tending to develop a static state of mass-mindedness with a consequent repression of individuality, which is an unhealthy condition for the present, uut, as well, is making the way ready for a totalitarian state when the war does finish.

Dare we continue to foster this apathetic mass atrophy of soul? It is vital for the sake of present humanity and of posterity, for civilisation and culture, comprising all the creative power of man throughout the ages, for the sake of the Eternal values of Life, that the imagination should be fully alive both to the realities of the appalling tragedy that people are experiencing, men and women of flesh and blood like ourselves, and of the state of the world afterwards. Also, it is equally essential that there should be proper realisation of the life for which we are preparing, if this holocaust of human life, this suffering, this wanton destruction and chaotic waste is allowed to go on and on. Once there is more awareness the living sap will begin to rise again, and we will emerge from this dark, almost dead winter that man has produced. The desperate need of the hour is the courage to start and stimulate this revivifying power, the kind of courage of pioneers, of the martyrs, of Gandhi, of Jesus of Nazareth, the supreme example for all time.

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,, 21—Dr. C. A. Smith (Subject announced later).
,, 28—No Meeting.

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THE EDITOR'S TRIALS
IN THE DOCK

II.—GLASGOW SEDITION TRIAL, 1921

(Continued from page 45).

. . . . Last month we reproduced the "Glasgow Herald" reports of the 1921 trial. In this issue we note passages from other Capitalist press reports. These cover incidents omitted by the "G.H." or reported differently. Where a report is quoted at length date of the paper is indicated above each report.—Ed.

VI.—"EVENING NEWS," GLASGOW.

MONDAY, JUNE 20, 1921.

GLASGOW'S HEAVY HIGH COURT.
Police Precautions at To-day's Sittings.
AUDIENCE SEARCHED.

A somewhat unusual calendar of cases was submitted at the sitting of Glasgow High Court which commenced at the Justiciary Buildings, Jail Square, to-day.

In all there are 29 cases, involving 74 persons. Two capital charges are included in the list, but most interest will centre in the trials in which a Sinn Fein element is introduced. Several batches of individuals are charged with one or other of the following offences:—Sedition; illegal drilling; contravention of the Explosive Substances Act; mobbing and rioting. The last named charge is brought against eighteen persons, the arrests being the sequel to the apprehension of Father McRory in Abercromby Street on the night of the Sinn Fein ambush on the police patrol van. . . .

GALLERY AUDIENCE SEARCHED BY POLICE.

Unprecedented interest was taken in the court proceedings. Hundreds of persons assembled outside the Justiciary Buildings—perhaps a record crowd in the recent history of High Court trials in Glasgow, but the police were more vigilant and alert than hitherto, and refused to allow them to linger opposite the court buildings. As a result the Saltmarket pavements were deeply lined with people. . . .

The demands for admission to the court galleries were heavy, and the police took the unusual precaution of searching every person who entered the court precincts.

Lord Skerrington presided in the North and Lord Hunter in the South Court. The Lord Provost and several Magistrates were present at the outset.

SEDITION CHARGE.
Guy Aldred in Court.

A long legal discussion heralded the commencement of the sedition charge against Guy Alfred Aldred . . .

Mr. Aldred, who was undefended, in a long speech, also held that there was nothing seditious in the statements. . . .

TUESDAY, JUNE 21, 1921.

CITY COMMUNISTS ON TRIAL.
Prisoner Cites Sir E. Carson's Speeches.
VERDICT AND SENTENCES.

Lord Skerrington at Glasgow High Court today resumed the hearing of the case in which Guy Aldred, London, the well-known English Communist and editor of *The Spur;* Jane H. Patrick; Douglas McLeish, and Andrew Fleming, all of Glasgow, were charged with seditiously printing, publishing and circulating a newspaper called *The Red Commune,* the organ of the Glasgow Communist Group.

As was the case yesterday, the police took the precaution of searching all persons who gained admission to the public galleries of the court. The new policy of refusing to allow crowds to congregate opposite the courthouses had the desired effect, and to-day, there were more police than public outside the buildings.

ALDRED AND SIR E. CARSON.

Aldred, who last night spoke for over an hour, to-day occupied another hour in his resumed address to the jury. He recalled the speeches made eight years ago by Sir Edward Carson and Lord Birkenhead, speeches which were so well calculated to incite to violence and sedition that they prevented a constitutional solution of the Irish problem and were responsible for the murders and outrages taking place in Ireland to-day. These men were now honoured judges in England, and what the workers felt was that if you preached sedition in a certain way you might be honoured by being invited to fill the highest positions in the land, but the workers who were without culture and University education, and said things bluntly, found that a different attitude was taken up in regard to anything they might say. . . .

Continuing, Aldred produced the banner of the Communist group in Glasgow. Holding it up to the jury, he pointed out that it depicted the rising sun of Communism, the golden era of freedom, and the sword of militarism being destroyed by the working man. "Freedom our battleground" was their motto, and he submitted that this banner showed that they did not believe in violence. In conclusion, he said Communism might be wrong, but freedom of the Press must always be right, and he asked for a verdict of not guilty . . .

VERDICT AND SENTENCE.

The jury returned a verdict of guilty as libelled, only one dissenting from this decision.

Aldred pointed out to his Lordship that he had already served one hundred days in prison. He had only been guilty of a general kind of sedition, not pointing to anything immediate, and persons recently convicted of direct incitement had received sentences much less than the hundred days already served by the speaker.

Aldred later scored a point by protesting that the certificate relating to a previous conviction bore a different date from that which appeared in the list of productions.

Mr. McRobert, Advocate-Depute, acknowledged that a mistake had been made, and agreed that his Lordship should rule the evidence of the conviction as cancelled . . .

VII.—"EVENING TIMES," GLASGOW.

The *Evening Times,* Glasgow, for Monday, June 20, 1921, reported the trial beneath the following main heading and cross-headings:—

WHAT IS SEDITION?
A Communist Publication.
Foundation of Communist Group.
Scots Warrant in England.

This report covered much the same ground as the *Glasgow Herald* report, but expressed a little more colour. We quote the following passages from the *Times'* Monday's report:—

"The next case in the North Court was the trial of four persons, including Guy Alfred Aldred, the well-known Communist. All four accused were of respectable appearance. One of them, Jane Hamilton Patrick, was a lady of small stature, wearing a brown costume. The two other accused were Douglas M'Leish and Andrew Fleming, two middle-aged men. . . .

PHILOSOPHICAL IDEAS.

Ann Menzies Scott Donaldson, an attractive young lady from Dalmuir, gave her age as 22 years, and said she joined Glasgow Communist Group in May, 1920. She was examined regarding the meetings of the Communist Group of which she was for a time minute-secretary. The discussion after the business meetings were on philosophical ideas, and there were never any suggestions of violence or incitement. She never saw the accused Fleming at any of the meetings."

The *Evening Times* for Tuesday, June 21, gave the following headings and cross-headings to its report:—

COMMUNISTS SENTENCED.
Cases at the High Court To-day.
SEDITION CHARGE FOUND PROVED.
COMMUNISTS' DEFENCE.
Communist Banner in Court.

The *Times'* report again introduced a little colour. We make the following extract:—

"The closing stages of the sedition trial were entered upon this morning in the North Court before Lord Skerrington and a jury. Of the latter eight are women. When the Court met this morning the Clerk (Mr. Rae) read the names of the jury, and it was observed that one of the women members was absent. Shortly afterwards the absentee hurried to her seat. . . .

"When the Court adjourned yesterday Aldred, who was defending himself and Patrick and M'Leish (Fleming, the printer, was defended by Mr. Morton, K.C.), was engaged addressing the jury. His speech had extended to more than an hour when the Court adjourned. To-day he resumed his address. He had been in custody overnight, but the three other prisoners had been out on bail, and when they took their seats to-day it was observed that Fleming wore a 'buttonhole' of pansies."

(To be continued.)

LEIGH FISHER CONVICTED

In our June issue we reported the Tribunal hearings of our Comrade, Leigh Fisher. The Tribunals held that he was genuine in his views and statements, but that his objections were political, and not conscientious, within the meaning of the National Service Acts.

On Tuesday, November 4, he was convicted at the Sheriff Court, Hamilton. The *Hamilton Advertiser* report reads as follows:

C.O.s IN COURT.
Burnbank and Fallside Men Detained for "Medicals."

Two conscientious objectors were convicted at the Sheriff Court on Tuesday of having failed to comply with notices served in terms of the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939. They were Leigh Fisher, 118 High Blantyre Road, Burnbank, and John Callaghan, 1 Sandaig Avenue, Fallside, Uddingston.

Ministry of Labour officers and others gave evidence. Both accused, it was stated, registered as conscientious objectors. They appeared before the local Tribunal, and their names were ordered to be removed from the register of C.O.s, and the Appellate Tribunal upheld those decisions. The notices referred to in the complaints were subsequently sent to them by registered post, but the accused failed to appear at the medical board centre in Motherwell, as required, on July 28 and August 21 respectively.

Neither of the accused asked the witnesses any questions.

Fisher, addressing the Court, said that he remained a conscientious objector and was not willing to engage in war. He had to square his conduct with his conscience, and he felt that he must refuse to acknowledge the right of the State to impose military service upon him. He was registering his protest, he added, with great respect.

Callaghan did not make any statement.

The Sheriff imposed on each a penalty of £5 or 30 days' imprisonment, and made an order that they be detained for medical examination.

EDDLEWOOD MAN'S ATTITUDE.

A plea of guilty was tendered by John Thomas Carracher, 53 Meikle Earnock Road, Eddlewood, to a charge of having failed to appear at the same centre on September 4.

The accused was asked if he was now willing to submit to medical examination.

"Yes," he replied, "under protest."

He was fined £1, with a month to pay, and undertook to go to the centre for examination.

CAROLINE TEAPE.

Comrades of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship and the United Socialist Movement will regret to learn of the death of Caroline Teape, wife of our comrade W. M. Teape. Born on June 2nd, 1870, Mrs. Teape passed away on July 27, 1941. Mrs. Teape was an earnest pacifist and member of A.P.F.

NORTHERN RHODESIAN COPPERBELT

NATIVE CONDITIONS EXPOSED IN A STRIKING HOUSE OF COMMONS SPEECH

By

A. CREECH JONES, M.P.

(Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Labour).

(Continued from page 41).

Mr. Leslie Boyne (Gloucester): The hon. gentleman has informed the House that a large sum of money is paid annually by way of dividends. In order that the amount he mentioned might have some meaning, will he say on what capital it has been paid? I am not asking for any purpose except for genuine information.

Mr. Creech Jones: For some of the companies the average yield may be 5½ per cent. over a long period of years. The actual dividend in recent years is infinitely higher. The point I am making is that out of the Colony, something like £3,000,000 to £5,000,000 is distributed every year to shareholders in London. This wealth is taken from the Colony where the total African wages are £3,000,000 to £5,000,000. That disparity is completely unjustifiable. It is not a question of how much capital is invested. It is a question of the enormous drainage of wealth from the Colony which ought to be retained for the well-being and happiness of the people.

The poverty, ill-health and under-nourishment of this Territory have a bearing on the industrial problem. When the Royal Commission reviewed the situation a year or so ago they pointed out how thin was the whole economic apparatus of the Territory. They urged a policy of development in agriculture and subsidiary industries which, they said, should be vigorously pursued, even in war-time. Otherwise, the drainage from the villages will not be modified and the appalling social consequences stopped. Major Orde-Browne pointed out in his report that there were probably 280,000 adult tax-payers in the Dependency. Of these, 90,000 were involved in employment out of the Dependency, 48,000 were unfit for full manual labour, 67,000 were wage earners in employment in the territory, and only 60,000 earned their livelihood other than by wageearning employment. These figures reveal how far wage-earning has developed over a great section of this Territory. The fact that people are obliged to leave their villages to seek wage-earning employment which has brought them in turn into contact with Western influences has a most unsettling effect.

I cannot appreciate in these circumstances why the North Rhodesian Government cannot make up their minds, as is revealed in their statement attached to this Report, on the vital issue whether there should be attached to the mines a permanent labour force. The Report informs us that 18 months is the average time away from the village on the Copperbelt. Large numbers of persons who leave their villages never return. The mine-owners themselves submitted in their evidence the necessity for the presence in the compounds of the wives and families of the labourers, and they pointed out that if there were to be contentment, morality, health and well-being among their people, proper arrangements must be made for the wives and families of the labourers to come into the compounds. At the Roan Antelope Mine three out of five men who are employed are married. How far accommodation can be provided depends on the general policy of the companies, but, judging from the figures in Major Orde-Browne's report, it is reasonable to say that in all cases the percentage where wives accompany husbands has tended to rise in recent years and that there is also a corresponding increase in the average period of employment of each labourer. At the Roan Antelope Mine 35 per cent. of the African labourers have stayed more than two years, and 21 per cent. have stayed for six months to two years. At Mufulira 23 per cent. have stayed for two years or more, and 25 per cent. from six months to two years. At Nkana 27 per cent. have stayed for more than two years and 31 per cent. from six months to two years. These are significant figures showing a tendency to the creation of an industrialised class of labour among the Africans and the creation of an African who is steadily becoming detribalised.

I submit that that tendency cannot easily be reversed. In point of fact, so far as the Belgian Congo is concerned, it has been accepted as a fact that a system of family settlement should be established, and the deliberate aim in the Belgian Congo is that the second generation of workers should not drift in from the villages but be born on the spot. If you are to stabilise and develop the countryside, then I think some greater stability will also have to be found in the Copperbelt itself; but the Northern Rhodesian Government would seem to have no definite policy as regards stabilisation or the establishment of a permanent labour force, and seem sometimes to ignore the fact that a wage-earning section of the African community has now been created, because, as pointed out by the Commission itself, with the vast resources of copper in this region the industry cannot be regarded as other than a permanent one.

The present uncertainty in policy seems to hold up social improvements in the compounds and makes for unsteady industrial conditions, because a well-thought-out policy cannot be pursued if there is a continuously changing mining population. After all, many of those people have left tribal authority and all that is associated with tribal life behind them. In a recent count in the Copperbelt it was found that two-thirds of the children were actually born in the mining areas. They have no real tribal life, and so it seems futile to prevent permanent settlement in order to preserve the tribal system when the Africans are subject to all these disintegrating factors. The abnormal social conditions in the Copperbelt are generally recognised, and they are an additional argument for building up a permanent labour force around the mines. The irregular unions, the uncontrolled and undisciplined children, create for those who are administering in this area some very grave social problems. In those conditions you cannot hope to preserve very much of the structure of tribal life, with its predominance of tradition, as in the villages. I suggest that if the Government do not favour a permanent family settlement at least they should hurry on with proper arrangements in respect to repatriation and recommitment and there should also be better schemes in respect of deferred pay. Above all, there should be a policy for agriculture in the villages.

Now let us look at the question of accommodation as provided in the Copperbelt. Surely more should be done to provide the accommodation required by married workers and their families. In my submission, home-making ought to be encouraged and everything done to ensure a stable permanent nucleus. If a slump did overtake the Copperbelt in the future it would be unlikely that it would have very much effect on the permanent labour force established in proper proportions along the lines I have suggested. Accordingly, the compounds should be made much more attractive and less ugly, greater privacy should be available for the Africans, and, as is pointed out in the report, there ought to be more tree-planting to reduce the dust and the glare. More should be done for recreation and diversion, I submit, and facilities provided in the compounds for the wives and others to grow vegetables and have a little land to cultivate.

I have not the time to say much more about the social needs of these areas, of the problem of the children, the adolescents and the women, and the necessity for the extension of education, but all these are fundamental questions in those areas. May I, in passing, emphasise the danger of this industrial bleeding artery which is draining away from the villages the vitally necessary manhood of the country? In some way or other the evil ought to be controlled, certainly modified. The social consequences in Northern Rhodesia are disastrous. Large numbers of men never return to the villages, where the standard of life tends to get steadily worse. If we are to counteract in some degree the effect on native society of all these disintegrating forces a more vigorous agricultural policy is urgently and fundamentally necessary, difficult as the working out of such a policy may be.

Then the Commission recommend means of expressing grievances and negotiating with managements on the special industrial problems of the Africans. They suggest that an "elder" system might be established to bridge the way to trade unionism. One recognises the difficulty of establishing full-fledged trade unionism among an illiterate people, and a people who have not grown up in a long industrial tradition, but I would point out that the "elder" system is not generally operative in the Copperbelt. At best, it has only functioned for compound purposes, and when the dispute occurred it seemed to break down altogether. Obviously, with the flow of labour in and out of the Copperbelt, the forms of combination such as we are most familiar with in this country cannot be established very easily, but I hope that in the case of the permanent labour force, of the more experienced Africans established about the mines, the practice of combination may be allowed to develop and, indeed, encouraged in every way.

I would hope that the labour advisers will do all they can to give a guiding and helping hand to the Africans, and that they will as time goes on seek practical methods of bringing into operation a more effective form of combination than the Elder system for dealing with all the problems that arise out of industrialism. But I notice that the system of "elders" does not altogether recommend itself to the Northern Rhodesian Government, and I should like to know whether they are retreating from this recommendation of the Commission. I suggest also that the labour officers should make it their business to intervene or to help the Africans in their industrial relations by not waiting for grievances to flare up but by seeing that modifications and improvements are introduced into African conditions of employment and thereby prevent friction and greater grievances arising. I would make the suggestion that labour officers should not be appointed merely for three years, but should have, as far as possible, a proper avenue of promotion and of first-class work inside the Labour Department itself, so that we should not have in the Colonial Service these continual transfers in and out of the labour officers. There should always be experienced labour officers to deal with the problems of industry.

I also ask the Under-Secretary of State to say what the Government are doing in respect of the problems of recruitment and repatriation as are mentioned in paragraph 198 of the report. Also, is it intended that penal sanctions shall be completely abolished in this territory? If so, how soon? Will early steps be taken to improve the existing workmen's compensation law? It is true that a new Ordinance has been put upon the Statute Book in recent months in Northern Rhodesia, but it is not as generous as it should be in its terms. In the event of death, for instance, the calculation is based on a computation of three and a half years' life. There should be a nearer approximation to the methods which have been adopted in our own country, inadequate as they are.

My last point is in reference to the colour bar, which is of fundamental importance. The colour bar is practised in the Dependency. The Commissioners desire that it should be modified. I submit that the policy, as set out by the Northern Rhodesian Government, looks very much as though that Government desire to perpetuate it. This matter really is the

touchstone of British administration in Africa. The notice of the Commissioners was drawn to the bitter resentment caused among African workers by the terms of address and the sneering attitude frequently used towards Africans by Europeans. Africans are employed to a limited extent on certain supervising jobs, and frequently on work calling for a great deal of skill. When the Commission was in Northern Rhodesia the Africans challenged the Europeans as to the volume of work which they as a team could produce in comparison with a team of Europeans, and as to the quality of the work which they performed. In their proposals, the Northern Rhodesian Government seem to shuffle over the whole of that question. They timidly refer to the conditions after the war and suggest that the revised wage scales to which the companies have agreed will afford very considerable advancement on the present lines and will offer to Africans reasonable satisfaction during the next few years.

I am amazed at the use of such words. What is the considerable advancement promised by the Report? What is this reasonable satisfaction, when the cost of living is rising and wants are increasing and when other influences are stirring the Africans to new aspirations? The use of language such as that is surely humbug in these circumstances. I suggest again that this is the touchstone of our liberal faith in Colonial administration, and some assurances must be given to the African workers on the matter. If the Africans cannot be admitted to the European trade unions, the Government must limit European employment and insist upon an increased quota of employment in supervisory jobs to the African workers. The entrance of European workers must not be permanently allowed, it should be controlled and the Government should declare that European employment must not prejudice the future prospect of the African workers in the industry. We cannot and dare not shut out the Africans in their own land. If he is to advance, the African must be allowed to exercise increasing industrial and political responsibility. It would be unfortunate for the British Government to accept the somewhat specious reasoning submitted by the Northern Rhodesian Government. Let me remind the House that the Africans regard this matter as one of cardinal importance in European Colonial policy.

I hope that our Colonial Ministers will come out boldly in their directions to the Northern Rhodesian Government on the matters that have been raised in the Report. I hope that the British Government will not delay action, and will not rest complacent. Northern Rhodesia is one of the unhappy lands in our Colonial Empire, brimful of perplexing problems. This Report ought to be used in order to repair the past and to give an occasion for a sounder policy, based upon the wisdom, science and experience expressed in the many important Reports of recent years which have been written on the problems of this important Territory.

[. . . This concludes Creech Jones' principal speech. It is impossible to conclude the discussion in this issue, as a virtual debate ensued between Mr. George Hall and our comrade. We shall conclude in our next issue.—Ed.]

(To be concluded).

Mr. Creech Jones is chairman of the Fabian Colonial Bureau. Dr. Rita Hinden is Secretary. We hope to publish, from time to time, a summary of the questions and speeches in Parliament on Colonial questions made by the Labour M.P.'s attached to the Bureau. We shall endeavour to publish Creech Jones' speeches in pamphlet form, because of their importance. Readers of "THE WORD" who wish to join the F.C.B., should write to the Secretary, at **11 Dartmouth Street, London, S.W.1.** Please enclose stamp for reply.

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IN EAST AFRICA

By

The Rev. HUMPHREY CHALMERS, M.A.

(Minister of High Cliffe Baptist Church Warrington)

The Colour Bar in East Africa. By Norman Leys. The Hogarth Press. 7s. 6d. net.

One hundred and sixty years ago William Wilberforce had begun his life's work on behalf of the negro slaves of the West Indies. It took forty-five years to rouse the conscience of this country to enforce the abolition of the wrong. In our days the cause of the native African population under the British flag, not now expatriated across the Atlantic, but none the less expropriated and exploited, has been pled by Leonard Barnes, Lord Oliver, Leonard Wolff and Norman Leys. How long will their task employ them? Can they succeed at all in times when moral principles appear to be invoked only for propaganda purposes against others?

Certainly Mr. Leys has pertinacity like that of Wilberforce. His leading book, *Kenya*, was published in 1924, and followed a few years later by *A Last Chance in Kenya*, but conditions there and in most of the newer African colonies have become worse. Mr. Leys attributes this to a loss of idealism on the part of the British people. On account of the ideals of the nineteenth century the colour bar is constitutionally and in practice non-existent in the British West Indies, and is scarcely to be found in our West African dependencies, but in the Eastern part of the continent it is rigidly enforced alike by law and custom. As Mr. Leys admits, the term colour bar is unsatisfactory. "Racial Discrimination" is better. It exists in the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya, being at its worst in the last named and least severe, as Mr. Barnes has elsewhere pointed out, in Tanganyika. The worst feature of the evil is that it scarcely is found in Africa except under British rule. In French, Belgian and Portuguese Africa natives may acquire land and property, learn and practise skilled craftsmanship and even enter the learned professions and the magistracy.

Mr. Leys proceeds to allege the systematic exploitation of the native. In the Kavirondo country the crops are bought cheaply by the white man in time of plenty and, in the fashion of Joseph's Egyptian premiership, resold to the native producer in time of scarcity at double price. All the land has been taken over by the Government and the natives herded into small reservations which are almost without water and fertile soil. Nemesis has come in the fact that European methods of cultivation are ruining the fertile areas and much of the land and many of the buildings are now being abandoned. Yet the native cannot return to save the situation, as he is forbidden by law to purchase or even to rent any portion of the land which once belonged to his people.

Europeans have made great profits and suffered great losses. Here is an example. A farm of 640 acres was granted to A for £85. Two years later he sold it to B for £640. B built a stone house and laid down 150 acres of coffee, spending in eight years £5,000 on improvements, during which time the income received repaid the capital expenditure. Then he sold out for £17,000. The estate is now worth perhaps £1,000.

The native must spend two-fifths of each year working for the white man. For this he receives about 48s. The sale of his own produce may bring him not more than 12s. in addition. To this may be added £4 10s. as the value of produce not sold but reserved for his own use and that of his family. From this total of £7 10s. in money and goods he must pay something between 29s. and 30s. in direct taxation. There are also local rates, but the receipts from nearly all taxation are spent for the benefit of the white settlers, roads being only made and maintained in their districts, while the subsidies to mission schools for the elementary education of native children have now been with-drawn. There are heavy customs duties on goods for native consumption as against free imports of motor-cars, tractors and other requirements of the settlers, while the railway rates on goods for native use are from four to ten times those charged on plantation products for export.

The book is well written and contains adequate references to sources of information, but—and this is a serious omission—it contains no index

THE NEGRO CITIZEN

Our Comrade, E. N. McKenzie, commenced to publish in Birmingham, in May, 1940, an interesting monthly booklet, entitled *The Negro Citizen*. This claimed the inalienable rights of man for negroes. In the second number; under the caption, "*Sympathy From High Quarters*," the editor wrote:

From the Duke of Bedford, a gentleman who, though highly placed in Great Britain, respects the rights of men, and himself the author of several pamphlets dealing with the present situation, came two pages of foolscap with comments on the pamphlet that served to encourage the work. It is, also, in this case regrettable that space is too limited to permit of the publication of those most interesting points he raised. The following concluded his remarks:—

The remarks quoted from the Duke's letters were as follows:—

"I fully sympathise with the desire of the West Indian negroes for a greater share in the government of their own country and for a voice in its disposition. It seems extremely unfair that they should be leased to, or bartered with, America, without being consulted. You might be able to get a certain amount of sympathy and support on this matter from Labour—probably more from the labour movement outside than inside Parliament—but with a corrupt and tyrannical government, fighting a desperate and what is probably a losing battle, I am afraid the chances of your receiving fair treatment appear at the moment to be by no means bright. I wish I could take a more hopeful view but, by a strange irony of fate, I feel that we both, in different ways and for different reasons, are under the heel of the same oppressor." ... ...

Workers will sympathise with the Duke's reference to the Labour movement outside rather than inside Parliament.

The Duke's attitude towards negro fellow-citizens and comrades is an answer to the suggestion that he has Nazi sympathies. Actually, he supports strongly the splendid struggles being made in the House of Commons by our Comrade, Creech Jones, and his Labour comrades, on the African question.

IGNORED SPEECHES

By Members of the Parliamentary Peace Aims Group, F.N.O.A., includes James Barr, M.P.; George Buchanan, M.P.; Rhys J. Davies, M.P.; S. S. Silverman, M.P.; A. Sloan, M.P.; R. W. Sorensen, M.P., and R. R. Stokes, M.P.

Ever since the early days of the war the national press has adopted the practice of ignoring speeches made in Parliament which represent the so-called "minority" view. In the belief that a vast number of people agree with the views expressed from time to time by members of the Parliamentary Peace Aims Group, all of whom are Labour Members, it has been decided to publish speeches made in Parliament since the outbreak of war by Members of that Group. At the end of the book will be found three of the memoranda issued by the Group, to the first of which is appended a list of the original Members.

Issued by the Parliamentary Peace Aims Group, price 9d. per copy (postage 1½d. extra) or 8s. per dozen, post free.

Send your order to R. R. Stokes, M.P., 32 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

Ignored Speeches can be obtained at the Strickland Press and at all U.S.M. meetings.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Sir,—I have continuously seen your adverts, which appear to me to contain a wealth of information.

I am a C.O. of the last war, and to-day still take my stand with those who dare all for conscience sake. My friend has just gone to jail for refusing medical. I enclose 2/- in all to cover Periodicals and Bedford's Pamphlet. Wishing you every success in your work for the C.O.

Yours sincerely,
GEO. WATLING,
(Secretary Collier Row P.P.U.).

Romford, November 5.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Shall be glad if you will send me a copy of your "Life of Richard Carlile."

Was very glad to see you were still active in the best of causes. I remember you many years ago. I have been very badly bombed, but managed to save a copy of "The Agnostic Journal," containing part of an article of yours. "The Passing of the Miraculous," 22-9-1906. Also a copy of Paine's "Age of Reason," published by Richard Carlile, and other pamphlets, including the "History of Freemasonry." All the best.

Yours sincerely,
ROBERT ROSE.

London S.E.1, October 31.

Dear Aldred,—We are old C.O. comrades of 1916, and I have a hazy impression that we had some correspondence either then or a bit later, when you were setting up your bookshop. Anyhow I want to say that recently (only) I have seen a few copies of "THE WORD," and it has been a great pleasure to read much of them. I like the good print, etc., and admire your generous tolerance both of the Christian witness against war, etc., and of men (like my old friend Creech Jones, not now (alas) pacifist, but with us on other vital matters. May you succeed soon now, with the help of Providence (or Destiny?) in clearing off the debt!

Incidentally I think (e.g., in your October issue article) that you should recognise that a number of things in the prison regime have changed much for the better since 1923 when Ruggles Brice went and Alec Paterson came in and our book came out. I believe the latter has quite good ideals, up to a point, and would like to do much more to make prison life more normal. E.g., now every prison has an "earning scheme," i.e., men can, I think, buy cigarettes, etc., for their work, which is less monotonous; and many, if not most, of the younger prisoners are not locked in cells at all, but live mainly in association, even in camp.

All good wishes,
STEPHEN HOBHOUSE.

Broxbourne, Herts., November 11.

Dear Sir,—In the last year or two I have seen several copies of "The Word," and I have just finished reading the current issue. I must have it regularly.

You may be interested to know that I am a pacifist of many years' standing; for about ten years I was Secretary of the New Zealand No More War Movement, and also Co-Leader there of the Free Religious Movement, which derived its inspiration from the work of the late Dr. Walter Walsh. In Portsmouth I am Chairman of the P.P.U. group and Secretary to the Advisory Bureau. I mention these personal facts just to assure you or my keen interest in the job you are doing through "The Word."

Last Sunday, November 9—Armistice Sunday—my church was crowded out for a United Service of Pacifist Witness, which was conducted by myself, supported by a member of the P.P.U. and of the F.O.R. In the congregation were members of these bodies and of Baptist, Methodist, Congregational and Anglican Churches and the Society of Friends. It was a great demonstration of Religious Unity, as well as an encouraging witness to pacifist conviction in this "Army and Navy" city.

Friendly greetings,

Yours cordially,
CHARLES H. COLE
(Minister High St. Unitarian Church, Portsmouth).

Cosham, November 10.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—You need have no fear about criticising me at any time; I am one of those who adhere to the full to Voltaire's dictum—"I disagree with what you say but will fight to the death for your right to say it."

The present international situation is literally distressing and I am appalled at the lack of imagination among those in authority as to the prospects for our Country and all the peoples of Europe in the immediate future.

With kind wishes, Yours faithfully,
RHYS J. DAVIES.

House of Commons, October 22.

Dear Comrade,—I find great pleasure in reading *The Word*. There is much food for thought and inspiration within its pages.

I was glad to see the article in *Peace News* by the Duke of Bedford this week and I look forward to the day when I shall see one in the *New Leader*. My allegiance is, at present, divided between the C.S.M., the P.P.U. and the I.L.P. In unity there is strength; and in the not far distant future that strength will be needed if all we deem worth while is to survive.

A fortnight ago we had Stuart Morris at a meeting of the groups in Cumberland and Westmoreland. He gave an excellent speech, noteworthy for its commonsense and practicability. He spoke of the member's pledge renouncing war, the organisation of the P.P.U., and the necessity to preserve minority opinion. Surely a common ground of approach can be evolved between the P.P.U., the I.L.P., and the C.S.M.? Most Socialists must agree that violence is capable only of breeding a worse violence in whatever form it is used by man to attain an end, and, by its resilience, destroying the very end for which it was used.

I am tempted to compare the present crisis of civilisation with the crisis in a man's life when he is attacked by some such scourge as cancer or tuberculosis. In the past he has failed to hear the voice of nature, until, by wrong ways of living, he has collected toxins and poisons within his system and it takes this means of cleansing itself. If he has sufficient "clean matter" within his system he will survive. In the Strength of Unity and Truth must we prepare for the days when war and its hangers on of plague and pestilence are outlawed from society once and for all time.

I approve of Ruth Fry's amended charter.

Sincerely yours,
CUTHBERT LEIGH.

Keswick, November 2.

Dear Comrade,—I should like to express my appreciation of *The Word* and of your efforts towards sanity and justice.

I am a conchie forestry labourer, with a wife and baby to support, and since for my week's hard labour the kind and beneficient government is pleased to reward me with 48/9½, you can imagine that there is little money to spare.

We take no other publications but *The Word*, but we feel that the money spared for this purpose is well worth it.

I have been deeply interested in the Duke of Bedford's writings. He seems to me eminently suitable for the leadership of the large body of Socialist-Pacifist opinion with no outlet for expression at the present time. He impresses me as an extremely sane and reasonable thinker, with nothing to gain personally from his actions, and deeply sincere.

A few words on a subject which has interested me for some time, that of conchie land-workers blacklegging. There are many hundreds of C.O.'s doing land work now, most of them from families in a fairly comfortable financial position at least, and from jobs in offices where the boss and worker relationship is not a continual battle as in agriculture and industry. They do not realise that the worker has to be always fighting to maintain and improve his conditions, and the best way of fighting is through the trade union.

I know that many C.O.'s are awake and in the fight, but I also know that there are many, perhaps more, who through ignorance or lethargy are not only not helping, but perhaps hindering the fight by accepting bad, even illegal, conditions. If we C.O.'s in agriculture could fight and succeed in bringing agricultural working conditions at least up to those in industry generally, we should have achieved something to be proud of. If we worsen conditions through war we shall have failed lamentably in our struggle for justice and peace and Socialism.

The address of the National Union of Agricultural Workers is 63 Bushley Hall Road, Bushley, Herts. I wish you all power in the struggle.

Yours fraternally,
E. WILLIAMS.

Coniston, Lancs., November 2.

Dear Guy,—Do you get *La Protesta*, the Spanish paper. If not could you get it for some weeks back. Have been told that Rocker has an article in it boosting British Imperialism and supporting the war. He points out how generously India is treated by offering them Self-Government, and how well treated Ireland is by England.

Since I cannot read Spanish it is impossible for me to give you the full text. Ordinary Imperialists are bad enough, but when professed revolutionary anarchists take up the role of apologists for British Imperialists we have surely reached the limit. During the last few years we have had Rocker trotted out as the great anarchist theoretician. If the article is as it has been represented to me, it is time the bubble was burst.

I am only telling you what has been told me.

The few Spanish CNT-FIA men that I know are in support of the war against Hitler and Mussolini. They are not anti-war. They think that only the defeat of Fascism will enable them to get back home. They think that Hitler's downfall will bring down Franco. They run a little duplicated paper.

I have heard that there have been replies in *La Protesta* to Rocker. He may have been writing in the same strain in Yiddish. Most of the old Jewish comrades have lost their heads and their anarchism over the war.

I hope that Morrison does not rope you in because of your association with Bedford. It seems that he would like to silence Bedford. Might that mean you also as an Anti-Militarist? For a Duke and an anarchist like you to go down together in defence of Anti-Militarism would be history. But it would be unfortunate. Morrison, the ex-conchie, is, to my mind, just a little snipe. He has power and is out for blood.

Best wishes for November 5—and after.

Yours fraternally,
M. KAVANAGH.

London, November 3.

[. . . We have received "La Protesta," Buenos Aires, August, 1940, containing the Rocker article. This article is being translated and will be published. We would ask Comrade Kavanagh to suspend his criticism of Rocker till he reads this translation.—Ed.]

Dear Guy Aldred,—My mind goes back these days, as I expect your does, to those of 1916-18 and after; let us hope that the time may come sooner than seems possible, when we shall be able to do some really constructive work.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,
H. RUNHAM BROWN.

Enfield, Mdx., October 9.

[We hope to publish an essay on War Resistance throughout the world by our comrade, Runham Brown, at an early date.—Ed.]

Dear Mr. Aldred,—The recognition being given to F. W. Jowett pleases me very much. I was associated with Bradford Socialism from the beginning up to 1931—I then became disgusted with all passing as "politics" and have since conducted a campaign of my own. I believe that a sane monetary system would inevitably lead to the peace and plenty desired by all. I am no longer interested in equality of service or equality of reward. These things are useless in the world of overwhelming abundance we live in.

You will be aware that your sketch of Jowett's career is very condensed. I am struck with the sentence "In 1898 he became Chairman of the Health Committee." This sentence covers a long period of tireless activity, and during this time F. W. initiated innovations in town sanitation that were copied all over this country and have since been copied over a large part of the world. Without any doubt he was the most distinguished Chairman of the Health Committee this City has had.

I well remember you as a "stormy petrel" during the last war, but the Press is cluttered up with one stunt monger after another, and those who fought selflessly for others are elbowed off the stage, as is the case with F. W. Jowett.

I wish to thank you for your efforts to give recognition to my old friend—but the real story of his labours for the people is, I am afraid, beyond the space limits of *The Word*.

For your perusal when you have time, I enclose two items showing some degree of attention I have received, in preaching social unity in circles presumed to be hostile to such advocacy.

With best wishes for *The Word*.

Yours sincerely,
GLYN THOMAS.

Saltaire, October 19.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I would like to thank you very much for the books received. The copy of *What A Game* has been passed on to our family doctor, who was very pleased to have it. The sincerity of John MacLean, which you have so ably recorded in your book, is most inspiring, and has moved me very, very much.

Yesterday, in the *Manchester Guardian*, was an extract from the absolutely splendid article written for *Peace News* by the Duke of Bedford. Needless to say how delighted we were in our home to read it.

Glasgow means a lot to us, because Dick Sheppard was elected Lord Rector of its University just before his death, and Winston Churchill was at the bottom of the poll.

The November issue is splendid as usual.

Yours sincerely,
ALICE GOODRICK.

Manchester, November 11, 1941.

Dear Mr. Aldred, What is an Atheist?; an Anarchist?; and what is Communism?

My father could have answered these questions, but he died last year. He was a well-known pacifist in this town, called mad by some people, and loved by others. He hated war, and left the Church 25 years ago because he said the Church upheld war. I could not see eye to eye with him until this war started. I kept saying, why doesn't the Church stop this war. No one has the right to make human beings suffer like this.

Then I read Mr. Middleton Murry's book, *The Betrayal of Christ by the Churches*, *The Faith Called Pacifism* by Max Plowman, and 2 lots of other books. Then I saw *The Word* advertised in *Peace News*, and

JAMES DICK.

In this picture Comrade Dick is holding paper in front of banner. On other side of banner is Comrade William Dick, well-known for his Anti-Parliamentary and United Socialist and Anarchist activity. The two Dicks are not related. The banner is the famous A.P.C.F. banner, seized by the Glasgow Police at the time of the 1921 trial, and detained by them for nearly two years. Its picture was the cartoon discussed during the trial.

now I have a lot more books to read; even so, I still know nothing, because I do not know anything about Socialists or politics.

I notice that it is the church-going people that worry most about what the German soldier will do to us if they ever come here.

I have twin daughters, aged 14 years, and some friends said to me last week: "Arn't you worried about your girls, because you can just imagine what would happen to them if the Germans got hold of them."

I said: "I never think about such evil things, and I certainly do not worry. I've tried to teach my girls to hate no one, and to do all they can to help others."

I see that the hounds, in the shape of the daily press, are after the Duke of Bedford. A letter of his has been handed over to legal experts of the Crown.

Does it make you think of a long time ago when another man was being watched by the legal experts of his day, waiting for him to speak just one word that would betray him? Human nature doesn't change, does it? It seems that a man of peace will always be hated until people change, but while we who understand have men like you, the Duke of Bedford, Mr. Middleton Murry, and a few others who are faithful to a good cause, we have nothing to fear. The world will be a lovely place when others can see what we see.

I like these words by James Lowell: "Be noble; and the nobleness that lies in other men sleeping, but never dead, will rise in majesty to meet thine own."

I am, yours sincerely,

(Mrs.) MAY FARMER.

St. Albans, November 5, 1941.

HENRY J. ADLARD

We regret to announce the death of our comrade, Henry J. Adlard, Minister of Trim St. Unitarian Church, Bath, on November 10th last. Comrade Adlard had been in ill-health for some time past, and contracted a severe chill on November 1st. Pleurisy and double pneumonia supervened.

Last month, Mr. George F. Miller, of Duluth paid a tribute to the great activity of Mr. Adlard in that city. Articles by and on Mr. Adlard appeared in *The Word* for December, 1940, and January, March, and June, 1941.

An account of Mr. Adlard's great activity will appear in our next issue.

CONSTANCE LEE.

Constance, the eldest daughter of the Rev. Richard and Mrs. Lee, passed away on Wednesday, November 19, at the Towers (Coventry and Warwickshire Hospital), Kenilworth. She had been ill for several months and had been seven weeks in hospital.

Miss Lee, owing to her delicate health, took little active part in public affairs, but she had a deep interest in the social question, and in the problem of peace.

Poetry, music and drama occupied her mind. Her favourite writer was an Indian poet, Tagore.

To the intimate circle who knew her she was one who will be sorely missed by many friends in Glasgow, Dundee and Blyth, as well as Coventry.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST OBJECTOR

At the Glasgow Sheriff Court, on Tuesday, September 23, James Dick, of 36 Hoggs Road, Pollokshaws, was sentenced to the usual twelve months' imprisonment for refusing to attend medical examination. He received also an extra 14 days' imprisonment for contempt of court.

Dick appeared before the local and appellate Tribunals but was removed from the C.O. register, largely because he was deemed to be a political objector.

From the dock, James Dick made the following vigorous speech defining his opposition to war and militarism:—

"What I have to say may not be relevant according to the usual court procedure. I have no respect either for this court or the laws which it administers. This court is not a court of justice; it is a court of hypocrisy. You ask me to take an oath on a book, the Bible, which expressly forbids me to swear, either by it or its mythical God. A certain passage bids you to judge not lest ye be judged. Another states: "Thou shalt not kill." I am here before this court not because this collection of writings forbids me to do this or that, but because my own intellect, my own conscience, my own philosophy, which is the philosophy of Anarchism, bids me. I am here before you because I refuse to kill. Strange, isn't it? One day you are trying a man for killing, and the next you are trying a man for refusing to kill. Isn't it about time you were making up your minds which is right and which is wrong? For many years you have been denouncing the Anarchists as bomb-throwers. You have condemned them, prosecuted and persecuted them; and now, lo and behold, when the Anarchists refuse to throw bombs they are also condemned. You should at least try to be as consistent in your accusations as you are in your persecutions!

"I am accused of breaking an order signed by the Sheriff of Lanarkshire. That order might well have been signed by Herr Hitler himself. It is Fascist in concept and Fascist in practice. Who is the Sheriff of Lanarkshire that he should order me to submit my body for medical examination? If I submit to this order I would be submitting to Fascism. Such orders are totally incompatible with democracy. On a previous occasion when I was present in this court, persons who appeared before you were sent to prison for not supporting their wives and families. To-day, you are going to send me to prison, where it will be impossible for me to support my wife and family. In condemning me, you are also condemning my wife and family to starvation. Does this not hurt your Christian conscience? No doubt however, it is your intention that they should starve, because if there were no starvation there would be no illegal crime, and if there were no illegal crime this court and its satellites would be out of a job.

"You want me to submit to medical examination so that my body will be used at your discretion for the restoration of Fascist Poland with its Jewish progroms, its lowest standard of living in Europe, and its mines, which are owned and controlled by the Prudential Assurance Society; for the restoration of Fascist Greece and its bloody dictator; for the restoration of Fascist France; for the defence of the Soviet Union and Stalin, which was described by Beverley Baxter, M.P. (now safely in America) in the Glasgow "Evening News" of January 28, 1941, as being not a system for human beings, but a system for human cattle, like its bastard offspring Nazism and Fascism.

"You want my body to be used for the defence of those in this country like Churchill, who helped to build up Fascism and praised Hitler and Mussolini for the grand work they were doing for civilisation! To-day, in the first case of conscientious objection before this court, after the speech by the defendant you stated that you were helpless and had to administer the regulations. If you were a man at all you would refuse to administer these regulations. That is all I have to say."

Comrade Dick is a glazier by trade. He was turned down by the Glasgow Local Tribunal on September 9, 1940. His appeal was dismissed by the Edinburgh Appellate Tribunal. Yet Dick put forward a perfectly reasonable case before both Tribunals. It is unfortunate that, somehow, his associations with the Labour movement, his membership of an Anarchist group, his Tolstoyan ideas, rather than his conscience, were discussed by the Tribunals. Once these were expressed, it seemed impossible to get back to the question of conscience.

Dick's statement to the Glasgow Local Tribunal was as follows:—

"I have a conscientious objection to war. I do not base my belief on any special grounds, my objection like a man's character has not been formed by any one factor, but arising from all sides to overwhelm me. My father served in the last war, was invalided home from France, physically a broken man eventually succumbed to tuberculosis contracted in France. He could never bear to have war mentioned in his presence; his attitude, more than speech could have done brewed within me hatred and horror of this thing so politely called war. I would not have any human being tortured as he was tortured, and as for myself, I prefer death."

No remarks were made on this quite reasonable statement. Questions somehow sidetracked the issue to Anarchism and Socialism.

ALAN MORLEY SENTENCED

Our readers are familiar with the stand made against war by our Newcastle comrade, John Morley, and his son, Robert. Their cases have been reported fully in these columns.

On July 9, Alan Morley, the second son, was instructed to appear for medical examination. He refused to do so and was summoned to appear at Newcastle Police Court on September 30. He refused to appear but remained at home and continued to go about his work. On November 3 he was arrested at work and taken direct to the police court.

We now quote the Newcastle *Evening Chronicle* reports, omitting only the headings, and duplicate descriptions:—

November 3 report says:

Alan Morley (21), "Rosslyn," High Field Road, Westerhope, was remanded in custody for a week at Newcastle to-day, on a charge of failing to attend for medical examination when ordered for military service.

Mr. Percy L. Frankham said that Morley had been difficult to trace, and had even ignored the summons.

Morley appealed for bail, and said he disagreed with the calling up act.

"I don't know of the difficulties Mr. Frankham talks about," he said. "I have come home at the same time every night. I suggest that the police have not even bothered, and what Mr. Frankham says is just not so."

Morley's father said that his son was opposed on principle to military service.

Mr. Frankham said he strongly objected to bail. An Army officer supported him.

November 10 report says:

"I am not here because I committed a crime, but because I refused to commit one," said Alan Morley, motor worker, when he was fined £5 at Newcastle to-day for refusing to submit himself for medical examination. He now refused to plead. . . .

Mr. Joseph Robinson (chairman) commented that Morley disbelieved the laws of England although he accepted privileges under them.

He was remanded in custody to be taken for a medical examination.

November 11 report says:

Sentence of 12 months' hard labour was passed at Newcastle to-day on Alan Morley for refusing to comply with the order of the Court yesterday to submit to a medical examination.

Mr. Percy L. Frankham, prosecuting, said Morley was fined £5 at the court yesterday for failing to submit to a medical examination and he afterwards refused to be examined as ordered by the Court.

Morley in Court said he did not submit to the order because he refused to join the Army.

Mr. J. Robinson (chairman) said he hoped the sentence would deter others from acting as foolishly and defiantly as he had done.

Under the title, "SANITY IN POLITICS," the Rev. Reginald Sorensen, M.P., discusses the political foundations of peace, in "NEW VISION," for Autumn, 1941. This journal is published at 4d. (post free, 5d.), and is obtainable from the publisher, at 22 Seafield Road, London, N.11.

Our deficit has been reduced considerably. But we would like to be able to close our appeal and publish a complete list of subscribers next month. Will you help?

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

WHAT READERS THINK

[. . . Since we published our interview with the Duke of Bedford in the August "Word," readers from all over the country have written demanding that the Duke shall become the voice of pacifism and Socialism in the House of Lords, and shall lead the common people of the country towards political and social sanity. We publish more correspondence below.—Ed.]

Dear Mr. Aldred,—In the last war, George Lansbury stood for Christianity and Truth. In this war, the Duke of Bedford is standing for exactly the same thing; and thousands of people, like myself, thank God that there is still an Englishman who has the courage and the wisdom to speak the Truth. It would seem that, in the Duke's leadership, lies the only chance of salvation for those remnants of the youth of Europe, who have not been crucified already. Crucified through the mistakes of politicians, "irresponsible people with bad records."

If, as is admitted, "war is the bankruptcy of statesmenship, why do we allow the delinquents of 1939 and even 1918, still to function in the politics of democracy.

Northam, Oct. 22. C. E. PAYNE.

Dear Guy Aldred,—I received a copy of *The Word* which you sent to me. I think that everything in it is excellent—plus! You deserve praise and warm thanks from all who have the privilege of reading it, for your wonderful capacity of being able to discover the Truth. You may have an equal as a well-informed orator and writer, but I can assure you that you have no superior! I consider that your statements in the October issue regarding War and *Politicians should be broadcast through every street of every town! By which means* the apathetic members of every community could have a chance of learning the Truth!

I think your writings in *The Word* are an eye-opener and an example of pure intelligence! It would be a country worth living in if there were thousands like you! Legalised murder would then be a thing of the past! There are a lot of cultured humane people your staunch supporters.

I join all others in saying that I believe that the Duke of Bedford is the most capable man in this country who has the capacity for Leadership! His insight into the affairs of the country —Financial, Administrative, Economical, etc., is in my opinion very great. He is a lover of humanity, a deep sincere thinker, and an enlightened Christian! When he begins to act in the House of Lords, the day of Universal Brotherhood will be within the sight of poor suffering human beings, in every country!

I hope, Mr. Aldred, that the Duke of Bedford and yourself will be spared to reap the fruits of your earnest activity! With my sincere thanks for all you are doing in the cause of Justice.

I am, Yours most sincerely,

(Mrs.) AGNES RITCHIE.

Glasgow, E.2. Nov. 6.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I have read with great appreciation the Duke of Bedford's "Towards Peace: What can be done?" in *The Word*.

It seems to me that, at last, there emerges a foundation plan towards Peace and sanity. What a contrast is presented between this sincere high-principled, balanced, Christian, knowledgeable statement, and the crafty, self-righteous, arrogant, hypocritical, selfish hysterics to which the public is subjected from government spokesmen and supporters! On the one hand we have a Man, a Human Being, and on the other merely a crowd of the crudest materialists, and unprincipled self-seekers the world could produce.

The article by C. H. Norman is also very valuable, and it has seemed to me for some time that more prominence might well be given by workers for Peace to the degrading, sub-human caricature of life to which the masses everywhere have allowed themselves to be subjected, down to a grossly inadequate standardised food ration (*e.g.*, one egg per week!) in a world of abundance.

So cunningly is attention focussed on Hitler and his misdeeds by those who do not themselves appear to be "without sin," and therefore privileged "to cast stones," that the people have lost all sense of proportion, and fail to appreciate the condition of slavery, and loss of personal freedom and initiative in which they are enmeshed.

Best wishes for your good work.

Yours sincerely,

J. CYRIL PAGE.

Dymock, Oct. 7.

Dear Comrade,—I would ask housewives to awake. I would say to them: "Do not wait for halls or public meetings—have friends and and neighbours to your homes for discussion and plan the future *you* want. Let us support the Duke of Bedford in his magnificent stand."

Various groups are meeting in this city, groups which I only heard of recently: fireside groups: *really* Socialist.

In the struggle,

I. KNIGHT.

Aberdeen, Oct. 23.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—A friend has sent us the 3 last copies of *The Word*, which my sister and I find extremely interesting. Will you please send another copy of October issue as it is very good and useful for lending to those who believe every word o f the Daily Press and the Radio.

In our opinion the Duke of Bedford would make a splendid leader. We have heard him many times in London and admire him immensely.

Yours truly,

L. & M. ALLPORT.

Forwood, Oct. 18.

Dear Sir,—We find the facts in *The Word* very interesting. I will enclose a letter of support for the Duke of Bedford from the Stamford E.O.R. next time I write.

Yours fraternally,

G. E. DARTNELL.

Stamford, Lincs., Oct. 10.

Dear Sir,—Very pleased with your November issue. Duty impels me to communicate to you my view on several points.

(1) I should much like to see the Duke of Bedford as Parliamentary Leader of a Peace Movement, agreeing also with Lady Stalbridge's remark that close co-operation with Mr. Middleton Murry is highly desirable.

(2) My wife and I heartily approve A. Ruth Fry's scheme regarding "The Atlantic Charter."

Doubtless more unity and aggregate and individual success will come to the Peace, Social and Humane Movements in general, as the world chaos grows and deepens.

Yours sincerely,

ALFRED Hy. HATTENDEN.

Green End,
Manchester. 1/11/41.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—After reading the encouraging letters in *The Word* regarding the Duke of Bedford's Articles, and also his wish to serve the common cause, I decided to sign the membership form of the U.S.M and wish it every success.

Bedford will be a leader worth the following, because one can *feel* his sincerity. Knowledge alone will not do; man must be converted to the cause.

I have come to the conclusion that we must have better men first, and then all things will be added unto him.

Good cheer. Yours fraternally,

W. H. JOHNSTON.

Ashton-in-Makesfield, Nov. 6.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—A few weeks ago you were kind enough to send me some literature concerning the U.S.M. and your own personal views, and I have also subscribed to *The Word* since then. I would like to congratulate you on your courage, public spirit and broad-mindedness in giving publicity to the efforts the Duke of Bedford is making as the champion of peace. As a pacifist of some twenty years' standing, I am proud to stand by the Duke. Although I do not necessarily accept all your views or his opinions, we are all agreed that the brotherhood of man and human liberty, safety and happiness are destroyed by a state of war. Please count me as a supporter of the efforts that you and the Duke are making for peace.

I enclose a donation to help with the expenses.

Yours sincerely,

E. W. PATES.

West Acton, W.3.
10/11/41.

[. . . The reader should turn to OUR LETTER BOX for further references to the Duke of Bedford.—Ed.]

BEDFORD PARALLELS

From two very interesting letters addressed to us by the Rev. Malcolm MacColl, from the Rectory, Ballachulish, on November 5, we make two extracts concerning the Duke of Bedford.

In one letter, our comrade, MacColl writes:—

My Dear Aldred,—Please don't imagine that I am imputing any inconsistency to you because you give space to the Duke of Bedford and allow him untrammelled freedom of expression. I was imagining what others would say—indeed repeating what I had heard said. I have never known you refuse a hearing to anyone. You will allow, however, that there is an irony in the fact that an avowed Christian like Bedford finds his freest expression in the organ of an avowed atheist! A Duke finding a mouthpiece in an Anarchist Communist! "Che sara, sara," as the Bedford motto goes.

These circumstances reflect only honour upon you and the Duke, an honour perilous in your case, as the authorities would not think it scandalous to attack you, but might be tender to His Grace, not for his sake, but for the sake of the Order to which he belongs.

There are not many parallels to Bedford. Byron, perhaps, but how unlike they are; or the famous Earl-Bishop, Hervey, Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry, who backed the Irish Volunteers, and was feared and hated by George III.; but Hervey was hardly a Christian though a Lord Bishop.

Bedford makes excuses for Adolf Hitler, but he does not eulogise him as Byron praised Napoleon. Has anybody ever traced the "little Englanders" and "detrimentals" of the war against the French Revolution? We know about Hunt, Carlile, Muir, Fish, Palmer and other similar prosecutions, and what about Shelley, Byron and others who were too high to be prosecuted?

There is scope there for some of our British Museum bookmakers—a Hutchinson volume with portraits at 18s. 6d.

To come down to more recent times, Why is there no current edition of Jack London's "THE IRON HEEL?" or of Winston Churchill's glorification of dictatorship in "SAVROLA?" That book is never mentioned in the lists of the P.M.'s writings. It was once a popular "DAILY MAIL" sixpenny novel. Both novels are almost topical. Have they been forgotten or too well remembered."

I am,

Yours faithfully,

MALCOLM MacCOLL.

In his second letter, referring to an earlier private letter from which we wanted to quote, MacColl writes:—

"My Dear Aldred,—I do not remember all that I wrote in what you propose to publish. As Bedford is the object of attack in last Sunday's "SUNDAY TIMES." I would like to be sure that my reference

to him does not imply a criticism that might encourage his enemies. Kemsley's rag is dirty, the leading article reminds me of that in the "IRISH INDEPENDENT" which "spotted" James Connolly and Sean MacDiarmid and led to their execution after the rest of the leaders had been shot.

I would have no hesitation in signing a warrant for the internment of Kemsley, Camrose and Iliffe for the duration of the war on account of their pre-war pro-Hitler record, when their kept man, Beverley Baxter, was snarling at those who wantonly libelled foreign statesmen.

It seems only too possible, however, that the Duke is pushing himself into attitudes difficult to defend because his appeals for peace are meeting not with the consideration they deserve but with unreasoning abuse.

Alas—the years have passed away and we can remember occasions on which we have been led to take up positions we never thought to accupy because the controversies went that way.

But I never had a conscience so sensitive as Bedford's or so generous an imagination. Giving the Devil his due is all very well, but Bedford credits his own good heart to Hitler, who has abundantly proved himself unworthy of credence and trust—and not only is this the case, but Hitler himself has told us in the oft cited passages from Mein Kampf, which are even more impressive in their context.

This second letter was unfinished.

Malcolm MacColl's accounts of the old Socialist Movement in Glasgow, and its worthies, make interesting reading. We will publish them as soon as possible.

BEDFORD AND MOREL

RAMSAY MACDONOLD ON WAR-TIME PATRIOTISM

The denunciation of the Duke of Bedford for his stand as an Anti-Militarist and enemy of war reminds us of the stand adopted by E. D. Morel, afterwards M.P., during the last war. Everyone knows how he was victimised and imprisoned on a trumped-up charge.

In the *Labour Leader* for September 13, 1917, Ramsay MacDonald addressed an Open Letter of congratulation to Morel. Unfortunately our copy of this issue of the *Labour Leader* is torn and the opening passages of the letter are lost. We reproduce in full the text that remains.

MacDonald writes to "My Dear Morel":—

"You have been a sore offence to every blackguard who has been making holiday and cash upon the top of the wave of popular passion and credulity. They knew they could go to any length in their attacks and slanders. During a war, thrice is he armed who has prejudice on his side. I know how often you considered a prosecution and how often you were advised to treat the scoundrels with indifference. I also know how the Intelligence Department has been laying snares for you; how you and I once shared the charming smiles of an AGENT PROVOCATEUR, paid for from our own taxes, and how the poor thing whom we pitied came to grief when she found she could not ensnare us; how your letters have been opened, read, returned to their envelopes, and then delivered; how officers have tampered with your staff and offered them appointments if they would give information against you; how, in short, you have been living in a glass house for years where there has been no privacy, with every action spied upon and reported, and running the risk that your most innocent and ordinary conduct might be converted and perverted into a criminal one. You have come scathless out of it all—and you have been trapped because you wished to send a pamphlet to Romain Rolland and some of his friends! Sneered at as a naturalised Frenchman you are now in prison because you obeyed the instincts of an Englishman and not the regulation of a Prussian official. That is the best that a Government with unlimited cash to employ spies and agents, unlimited powers and no scruples to pry into every act of yours, and an unlimited desire to get hold of you, could do against you. Such a charge as that preferred against you is, under the circumstances, the most magnificent testimonial to probity, honesty, and single-mindedness that any Government has ever given to a citizen who holds liberty in greater esteem than law, and independence of thought in greater value than departmental orders, who honours the fine motives that are making our soldiers willing to die so much that he is determined to vindicate them against all the powers and principalities which range themselves against them.

The reason for your imprisonment reminds me of the traditional French sportsman. He starts in the morning in spick-and-span hunter's garb, a bag bulging with cartridges on his back and a prodigious gun on his shoulder. That is the Government. All day he blazes away turning sparrows into eagles in his imagination, and succeeding by sunset to knock over nothing but himself. But he cannot return to supper and glory in the bosom of his family without some prey, so he "shoos" a chicken into the corner of a farm yard and puts a bullet through its head. With that he returns in triumph. That was the skinny little thing that the Bow Street Attorney, under the admiring eye of the Public Prosecutor, produced as your crime from the bag of the intelligence Department of the War Office, the livery of which has so appropriately and with such unusual honesty been chosen as green.

You are serving six months in Pentonville. Before being condemned you were refused bail. That was the scourging and the spitting process. Though your crime was political you were sent to the second division. They had to try and insult and humiliate as well as punish you. Thus they have only secured the completeness of your triumph and opened for you the higher orders of the knighthood they have conferred upon you.

The highest service that adversity does to a man is to sift his friends for him. The Congo was the crime of another ruler, and we could apply morality and righteous indignation to that. In that the Church blessed you and the mighty ones patronised you. But even then you discovered our Foreign Office. Now you are fighting a different fight, and I know how surprised you were at first that what was so plain to your Congo principles was so deserted by your Congo colleagues. You were very innocent of the world then. You will remember, perhaps, what a friend said to us one night three years ago: "I opposed one war, and I am not going to oppose another." With you the opposing of war was an incident; the supporting of truth was the concern. You were troubled, I thought, when I remarked of friends that "they will be fewer yet," but you left me without a reply when you observed that it was our families who bore the brunt of these things. That is only too sadly true. The children suffer with the fathers and for them. Never mind! The day will come when your Pentonville papers, framed and displayed with pride, will be valued by your children and your children's children as the most precious heirloom that your uprightness in character and conduct has enabled you to hand down to them."

An appreciation of E. D. Morel is overdue. When it is written MacDonald's bold words of challenge, penned in war-time, ought to be reprinted in full by way of introduction.

In 1922, Morel became M.P. for Dundee. He died in November 12, 1924. His Congo exposures and his magnificent work for the African natives is known to every lover of mankind.

We suggest to the Duke of Bedford that Morel's enemies are his enemies and for the same reason. He is denounced in the same press, owned by the same interests, by a second generation of hireling day-labourers, miscalled journalists. Unless we translate "journalist" as meaning a day-labourer, scribbling to order. The Duke might do worse than atone for the failure of the Labour movement to honour Morel by producing a tribute to the memory of this able and sincere enemy of war and exploitation of the Colonial peoples.

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CHILD MURDER

WHAT WAR MEANS

By

The REV. RICHARD LEE, M.A.
Minister of the Great Meeting House, Coventry

[. . . In the course of an address delivered at the Great Meeting House (Unitarian), Coventry, on Sunday, November 2, our Comrade, Richard Lee, said that one of the primary objects of the belligerents was to starve millions of children in Europe. That was one war-aim to which many pious war-supporters turned a blind eye. It was one aim which was being achieved by the mutual efforts of those who made blood their argument. War-mongers posed as realists, but many of them were blind to the realities which faced Europe as the result of the mad quest after victory.

Richard Lee's address was entitled: "The Future of Europe: The Problem of Food." We quote the conclusion.—Ed.]

Let us look, for a few moments, at:—

(a) What is being done.
(b) What we did twenty-two years ago.
(c) What might be done, if we are not daft.

You think of the horrible bloodshed on the Russian front. So do I. Do you also think of the terrible sufferings of hunger and starvation all over Europe?

In one country the people are allowed a few ounces, not one half the ration for bare subsistence, of dark stocky bread made of flour and potatoes.

In 8 months there has not been one ounce of butter or margarine for many millions. Meat very rarely is seen. Milk is extremely scarce and when it is obtainable the civilians get one-sixteenth of the soldier's ration. There is hardly any coal for the average household.

These are the conditions which obtain over a good part of Europe. The other day I saw in one of our British hospitals a babe who seemed a month old. The child was actually 17 months old. I asked the reason and was told "malnutrition." The mother was helping to make the weapons of mass-murder.

"Can a woman's tender care
Cease towards the child she bare?"

It can. War will make people callous, brutal, crueller than beasts. That exceptional child in Britain you can multiply by thousands in Europe as this war goes on.

You say: "Hitler, he is responsible." I say war is responsible. If you support war this horrible starvation and massacre of children is your aim. Not Hitler alone but you are the criminal.

(b) WHAT WAS DONE 20 YEARS AGO.

Twenty years ago I went into hospitals in Central Europe and saw three-year-old children weighing 8 lbs.; seven-year-olds weighing 22 lbs. Towards the close of the last war in Germany, in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in Hungary, the people lived on cabbage and turnip soup. They had no fat and no flour. They lived in cold rooms full of pestilential air. Tuberculosis was rampant. New-born babes had to be wrapped in newspapers. The official British Report after the Armistice said that raw materials were only 40 per cent. of what was required and fifteen million Germans should be transferred to other countries.

Yet against Germany and Russia we kept up our senseless and inhuman blockade for long after the Armistice. What War is doing to-day and will do to-morrow, Britain and France did with ruthless cruelty over twenty years ago. Whether under Hitler or Lloyd George or Churchill or the Archangel Gabriel, war is this monster devouring the lives of men, and killing them by the wickedest, cruellest method on earth, the slow torture of starvation.

No, the statesman-prophet would go to Hitler—to Churchill—to Stalin—and to Roosevelt—

and would say:—

Stop your insane and brutal murder. Forget the struggle for power and territory.

Get together and plan with all your strength and genius how to feed the hungry in Europe.

In planning this which is your proper work you will find yourselves. You will cease to be what you are now—

"Creatures that once were men."

All the ingenuity, the wealth, the skill, the courage you show now in the massacre of men, you can use in satisfying the needs of men and women and children.

(C) FOOD THE WAY TO PEACE.

There is a better way and if we had a statesman who was a prophet of humanity he would choose that way.

Amos or Hosea or Isaiah would choose this better way. They would never have stained their hands with the blood of children.

And the other prophet, greater than Amos or Isaiah or Hosea, would plead with us to follow the way of peace by feeding God's children.

I do not mean that we should begin to share out the food when we have had another year or two of futile destruction.

History is never antiquated.

Humanity, sweaty with labour, is always hungry for bread, struggling to wrest from nature and from hostile men bread, the bread of God.

That is why the prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread," is fundamental.

If there were a Christian nation or a Christian Church it would set a child in the midst and declare to those who choose the dastardly method of murder and destruction.

"When will you draw out your soul the hungry and satisfy the afflicted soul? Then shall your light rise in obscurity and your darkness be as the noonday?"

There is not pity enough in heaven or earth.
There is not love enough, if children die
Like tarnished birds, or less mercifully.
A great wrong's done when such as these go forth
Into the starless dark, broken and bruised,
With mind and sweet affection all confused,
And horror closing round them as they go.
There is not pity enough.

THE EARLY CHURCH AND WAR

Preaching at Hope Street (Unitarian) Church, Liverpool, on Sunday afternoon, November 9th, the Rev. Sidney Spencer said that 300 years after Christ, a certain Christian, called Maximilian, refused to accept the soldiers' badge. "I cannot serve as a soldier," said he, "I am a Christian." Maximilian's attitude was not one typical of the Christian Church throughout the centuries. Was it one typical of the outlook in his own time?

Even after the days of Constantine the Church was by no means unanimous in its acceptance of war. Martin of Tours refused to engage in an impending battle, and offered to go in front of the troops, unarmed. After the death of Constantine participation in war was definitely condemned by the Churches of Asia Minor. In the third century, many Roman soldiers who had enlisted as pagans, left the service on becoming Christians. Origen, perhaps the deepest thinker amongst the early fathers, wrote, "We do not serve as soldiers of the Emperor, even though he requires it." In the third century a church order laid it down that soldiers must abandon their calling before they could be baptised. Up to the time of Marcus Aurelius, no man could remain a soldier after he had accepted Christianity.

Justin Martyr, in the second century wrote that the prophecy of Isaiah, about beating swords into ploughshares was being fulfilled by the Christians. The positive motive that, in the early centuries, led men to reject the way of war, was not something secondary or incidental to religion; it was the direct outcome of their Christian faith.

As the Christians grew in numbers, the issue presented itself to them more and more in regard to foreign wars, and in the administration of Roman law. The main fact about the early Christians was not a belief in a speedy end of the world. Their repudiation of war, and the barbarities of the penal system was not bound up with any such belief. Christians stood aloof from the Roman gladatorial games, but by the end of the third century the inhibition was breaking down. The repudiation of war, and the barbarities of the penal system, arose out of what was most vital and essential in the Christian way of life. Origen, who did not accept the general view of the Second Coming, based the repudiation of war on the law of love, as Christ Himself had preached and lived it. In the history of the early Christians they would find emphasis constantly laid on the adoption of a new and distinctive method in dealing with evil. Stress was laid on the necessity of doing what was new, of meeting hatred with love, and evil with good. "The early Church liberated the mind of man from the fetich of revenge." It was this new way of meeting evil that led to the rejection of war. It was the tragedy of the Church that this creative spirit in the face of evil and wrong came to be so largely forgotten, and denied. The Church fell away from the vision and faith of Jesus Christ. It fell into a state when increasing emphasis was laid on creed and dogma, and there arose an increasing tendency to bitterness, intolerance, persecution, a willingness to accept prevailing standards, traditions, and ideals. For them there could be no return to the forms of life and thought that prevailed in the early Church, but there could be a rediscovery of that essential and inmost fact, of that love of Christ which goes out to all men, and which, in the end shall conquer all the evil which stands in its way.

NIGHT BOMBING

The Committee for the Abolition of Night Bombing forwarded the following petition to the Prime Minister on October 31 last:—

"Recognising that all bombing from the air increasingly involves suffering to the civil population, we believe there is a widespread desire that night-bombing, as the most indiscriminate form of such attack, should be abolished.

"The undersigned, therefore, urge H. M. Government to seek a convention for the mutual abolition of night-bombing. Alternatively, they urge the Government to announce that as from a stated date they will discontinue night-bombing, reserving the right to reconsider their decision if the German Government thereafter continue the practice."

The signatories to this petition included the following:

The Bishop of Chichester, Bishop of Birmingham, Bishop of Bath and Wells, Rev. James Barr, M.P.; Dr. A. D. Belden, Miss Vera Brittain, Dr. J. C. Cadoux, Rev. Henry Carter, Roger Clark, Clifford Curzon, F.R.A.M.; Rhys Davies, M.P.; Miss A. Ruth Fry, Lady D. Gibb, Laurence Housman, Professor C. E. M. Joad, Stuart Morris, J. Middleton Murry, Sir Hugh S. Roberton, Alfred Salter, M.P.; Dr. W. R. Selbie, R. W. Sorensen, M.P.; R. R. Stokes, M.P.; Dame Sybil Thorndike, Cecil Wilson, M.P.; Dr. Alex. Wood, Lord Ponsonby, and Lord Faringdom.

This petition reminds us that, at beginning of the war, the Duke of Bedford, then Marquess of Tavistock, issued a manifesto, addressed to working women, headed: *"There Must Be No Bombing."*

This manifesto stated:—

"Fortunately the dread prophecies of death and destruction from the air have not yet come to pass. German planes have not rained death on London—British planes have not slaughtered German women and children.

This manifesto stated that the wealthy were prepared to sacrifice the poor in war, and made these two quotations as from "bloodthirsty old men."

Rt. Hon. Leopold Stennett Amery, P.C., M.P. (a prominent Conservative leader).

"Our air policy should be to force on the German air arm a war of wastage, to compel the enemy, by continual raiding, to use petrol and machines in defence, **and provoke him to retaliatory measures against Britain.** Determination of our people to resist the aggressor would only be intensified by air damage. . . ."

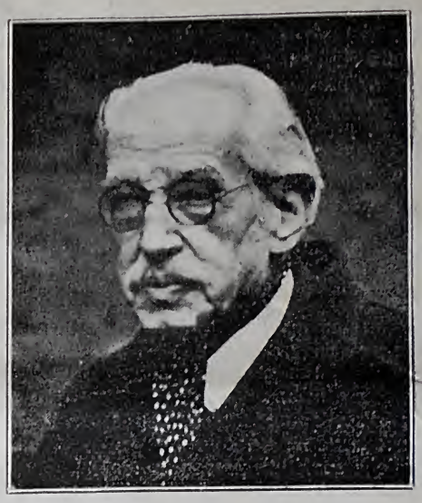
Mr. H. G. Wells. Famous writer and war propagandist and lifetime supporter of the Labour Party.

"The Germans have insisted on being a nuisance to all the world . . . I am convinced that **vigorous bombing, bombarding, wrecking towns, and the like** would be an entirely wholesome and chastening experience for them. . . ."

For this humanistic protest and appeal the Duke of Bedford has been denounced as a traitor and a wealthy member of the ruling class by persons who have built their fortunes on the oppression of the people, squandered thousands of pounds on racing stables, and hired scribbling journalists to "write down" pioneers of freedom and upholders of human liberty.

To "THE INQUIRER" for November 15, the Rev. Sidney Spencer contributes a powerful letter in defence of pacifism, to which the editor makes an unsatisfactory reply.

F. W. JOWETT TODAY



"Yorkshire Observer" copyright.

The above photograph of our veteran comrade was published in our contemporary on November 10. The previous day, Jowett had delivered a vigorous address in Bradford under the auspices of the Fire Brigades Union. Our biography will be resumed next issue. Articles by our comrade will apear every month.

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IN TIME OF WAR

even more than in time of peace it is necessary for Socialists to maintain their independence of thought and of action. The troubles confronting the world to-day are almost wholly economic in their origin, and the Socialist solution is still all-important. The demands of the workers of all nations are moderate, and ask only for social justice and a distribution of the economic necessaries of life on the basis of the right to live and not subject to the accident of heredity.

THE FIGHT FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW SOCIAL ORDER

must be continued without relaxation, even under present War conditions, and Socialists have a responsibility in ensuring that their Socialist principles are not put into cold storage for the duration of the War.

"THE EDINBURGH CLARION"

was founded by the West Edinburgh Divisional Labour Party, at the outbreak of War, as a Monthly Newspaper for the expression of the Socialist viewpoint on day to day problems arising in wartime even as in time of peace. The general policy of the paper is to support the principles of Socialism and Peace for which the Labour Party should stand.

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